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Non tamen mirabor Latinos magis indulsisse compositioni quam Atticos, quo minus in verbis habeant varietatis et gratiae ; nec vitium dixerim, si Cicero a Demosthene paulum in hac parte descivit.

QUINTILIAN ix. 4, § 145.

MAR 20 1973

ERRATA

PAGE

- 15, ll. 12-13, *for* excitatio*r* *read* exercitatio*r*
25, l. 1, *for* non *read* nos
28, l. 29, *for* nam *read* iam
29, l. 36, *for* (sit *read* (absit
39, l. 34, *for* praeceps *read* praeceps
41, l. 23, *for* nimbo*s* *read* nimbi*s*
41, l. 24, *for* tua *read* trua [tonitrua]
41, l. 27, *before* §§ 6-9 *insert* ch. v
43, l. 1, *for* οἷτος *read* αὐτός
45, l. 28, *for* istum *read* iustum

PREFACE

THIS little volume is intended for the use of students attending a course of lectures which I propose to give upon the metrical element in Latin Prose. In drawing it up I have made use of various works by recent writers, and I desire to express my special obligations to Norden's *Antike Kunstprosa* and two articles of W. Meyer, from which several of the passages are taken. I have not inserted specimens from Cicero's speeches, since these will be in the hands of my class.

In case this volume may fall into the hands of readers who are not familiar with the results of recent investigations in this subject, I think it well to state as briefly as possible the main points involved.

The deliberate use of metrical feet in prose in order to produce rhythm is stated by ancient authors to have originated with Thrasy-machus of Chalcedon, who recommended the paeon (— ◡ ◡ ◡ or ◡ ◡ ◡ —) for this purpose. Isocrates, who relied for his effect chiefly upon the figures (σχήματα) of Gorgias, viz. antithesis, clauses of equal length and homoeoteleuta—which, according to Cicero, form part of the *oratorius numerus*—also employed *numeri* in the stricter sense. In Demosthenes the metrical element is more prominent. His favourite foot throughout the sentence is the cretic (— ◡ —), which as ancient critics point out is the metrical equivalent of the paeon, while at the end of the period, or clausula, the double trochee (— ◡ — ◡) or double spondee is most frequent. In later writers the *ῥυθμοί* become constant and monotonous: the Asiatic school in particular were so fond of the double trochee that it became a mannerism.

The Romans adopted the use of *numeri* in prose, and carried it to greater lengths. Cicero endeavoured to lay down rules for *numerosa compositio*, but these are somewhat desultory, and he does not appear to have grasped the general principles by which he was unconsciously guided. Zielinski has shown that in his speeches 40 per cent. of the *clausulae*—in which, according to Cicero's teaching, the *numerus* is especially prominent—consist of the following three forms, viz.

(1) — ◡ — — ◡

(2) — ◡ — — ◡ ◡

(3) — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡

He explains these as consisting of a cretic (or in 2 and 3 a molossus) as base, followed by a trochaic cadence of varying length. It may be noticed that forms (1) and (3) are those most frequently used by Demosthenes, who also employs form (2), the double cretic. Zielinski holds that all the other forms used by Cicero may be brought under the operation of the same principle, and has invented an exceedingly ingenious system of nomenclature and classification. I would refer those readers who do not possess his brilliant work (*das Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden*) to a notice of it in the *Classical Review*, xix (1905), pp. 164–172, where I have endeavoured to give a *compte rendu* of his results.

Cicero's use of *numeri*, though disdained by strict Atticists like Caesar, archaists like Sallust, and the historians, Livy and Tacitus, was generally adopted, and the rules were applied with increasing rigidity. The climax may be seen in the metrical prose of Symmachus, in which the sentences are made up of a number of *clausulae*, chiefly belonging to the three favourite forms.

At the end of the fourth century accent began to supplant quantity both in Greek and Latin. Meyer has discovered a curious law by which it became the rule in Greek Prose from this time onwards that before the last

accented syllable in each sentence there must be at least two (generally two or four, more rarely three) unaccented syllables. The favourite clausulae now are

(1) $\acute{\sim} \sim \sim \acute{\sim} \sim$

(2) $\acute{\sim} \sim \sim \acute{\sim}$

(3) $\acute{\sim} \sim \sim \acute{\sim}$

The first of these is the successor of the double cretic, and the second of the cretic + trochee. A similar process took place in Latin. Thus $-\cup--\cup$ (e.g. *pax firmavit*) gives place to $\acute{\sim}\sim\sim\acute{\sim}$ (e.g. *gēnus hūmānum*), $-\cup--\cup\cup$ (e.g. *cessit audacia*) to $\acute{\sim}\sim\sim\acute{\sim}\sim$ (e.g. *cēpi prōvinciam*), and $-\cup--\cup\cup\cup$ (e.g. *copias comparavit*) to $\acute{\sim}\sim\sim\sim\sim\acute{\sim}$ (e.g. *lāpide disparātae*). The first of these was styled by mediaeval writers the *cursus planus*, the second *cursus tardus*, and the third *cursus velox*. All three exhibit the operation of Meyer's law, viz. that there is an interval of two or four unaccented syllables between the last two accented syllables in the sentence, so that this rule also holds good of Latin.

At the end of the eleventh century the employment of the *cursus* was systematized by Iohannes Caietanus, afterwards Gelasius II, at the order of Urban II, and minute rules were drawn up in the twelfth century by Gregory VIII. The *stylus Gregorianus* now became traditional in the *Romana curia* and was employed by ecclesiastical writers, e.g. in Papal Bulls. It was also used in metrical prose down to the end of the fourteenth century. With the Renaissance the knowledge of quantity revived and the *cursus* was rejected as barbarous. The rhythmical prose of the middle ages ceased to exist, and its connexion with the metrical system from which it had sprung remained unnoticed until recent years.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

(Ἰσοκράτης) ἀντίθετα καὶ πάρισα καὶ ὁμοιόπρωτα κολλῶν καὶ συντι-
θεὶς μόνον οὐ κολαπτῆρσι καὶ ξυστῆρσι τὰς περιόδους ἀπολεαίνων καὶ
ῥυθμίζων ἐγήρασε· πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔμελλεν ἄνθρωπος ψόφον ὅπλων
φοβεῖσθαι καὶ σύρρηγμα φάλαγγος ὃ φοβούμενος φωνῆεν φωνήεντι
συγκρῶνσαι καὶ συλλαβῇ τὸ ἰσόκωλον ἐνδεὲς ἐξενεγκεῖν.

PLUTARCH, *de gloria Athen.* ch. 8.

I

TESTIMONIA

Ὅλως δὲ ὁ λόγος μὴ λόγος ἔστω· ξηρὸν γάρ. μὴδὲ ἔμμετρος· **I**
καταφανὲς γάρ. ἀλλὰ μεμίχθω παντὶ ρυθμῷ, μάλιστα ἱαμβικῷ ἢ
τροχαϊκῷ . . . δεῖ τὰ φωνήεντα μὴ συμπίπτειν· χωλὸν γὰρ τὸ
τοιόνδε.

ISOCRATES, *τέχνη*.

Τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μήτε **2**
ἄρρυθμον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπίθανον (πεπλάσθαι γὰρ δοκεῖ) καὶ
ἅμα καὶ ἐξίστησιν· προσέχειν γὰρ ποιεῖ τῷ ὁμοίῳ, πότε πάλιν
ῆξει. ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν κηρύκων προλαμβάνουσι τὰ παιδία τὸ
‘Τίνα αἰρεῖται ἐπίτροπον ὁ ἀπελευθερούμενος ; Κλέωνα’. τὸ
δὲ ἄρρυθμον ἀπέραντον, δεῖ δὲ πεπεράνθαι μὲν, μὴ μέτρῳ δέ·
ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστον τὸ ἄπειρον. περαίνεται δὲ ἀριθμῷ
πάντα· ὁ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λέξεως ἀριθμὸς ρυθμὸς ἔστιν, οὗ
καὶ τὰ μέτρα τμητά. διὸ ρυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον
δὲ μή· ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται. ρυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς· τοῦτο δὲ
ἔσται, ἔαν μέχρι τοῦ ἦ. τῶν δὲ ρυθμῶν ὁ μὲν ἡρῶς σεμνὸς
καὶ λεκτικὸς καὶ ἀρμονίας δεόμενος, ὁ δ’ ἱαμβὸς αὐτῇ ἔστιν ἢ
λέξις ἢ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἱαμβεῖα
φθέγγονται λέγοντες. δεῖ δὲ σεμνότητα γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκστήσαι.
ὁ δὲ τροχαῖος κορδακικώτερος· δηλοῖ δὲ τὰ τετράμετρα· ἔστι
γὰρ τροχερὸς ρυθμὸς τὰ τετράμετρα. λείπεται δὲ παιάν, ᾧ
ἐχρῶντο μὲν ἀπὸ Θρασυμάχου ἀρξάμενοι, οὐκ εἶχον δὲ λέγειν
τίς ἦν. ἔστι δὲ τρίτος ὁ παιάν, καὶ ἐχόμενος τῶν εἰρημέων·
τρία γὰρ πρὸς δυ’ ἐστίν, ἐκείνων δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐν πρὸς ἕν, ὁ δὲ δύο
πρὸς ἕν. ἔχεται δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὁ ἡμιόλιος· οὗτος δ’
ἐστὶν ὁ παιάν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι διὰ τε τὰ εἰρημέα ἀφετέοι,
καὶ διότι μετρικοί· ὁ δὲ παιάν ληπτέος· ἀπὸ μόνου γὰρ οὐκ
ἔστι μέτρον τῶν ῥηθέντων ρυθμῶν, ὥστε μάλιστα λανθάνειν. νῦν
μὲν οὖν χρῶνται τῷ ἐνὶ παιάνι καὶ ἀρχόμενοι, δεῖ δὲ διαφέρειν
τὴν τελευτήν τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἔστι δὲ παιάνος δύο εἶδη ἀντικείμενα
ἀλλήλοισι, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀρμόττει, ὥσπερ καὶ χρῶνται· οὗτος
δ’ ἐστὶν οὗ ἄρχει μὲν ἢ μακρά, τελευτῶσι δὲ τρεῖς βραχεῖαι,

Δαλογενὲς εἶτε Λυκίαν

καὶ

Χρυσεοκόμα Ἑκατε παῖ Διός.

ἕτερος δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας, οὗ βραχεῖαι ἄρχουσι τρεῖς, ἡ δὲ μακρὰ τελευταία·

Μετὰ δὲ γὰν ὕδατά τ' ὠκεανὸν ἠφάνισε νύξ.

οὗτος δὲ τελευτὴν ποιεῖ· ἡ γὰρ βραχεῖα διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς εἶναι ποιεῖ κολοβόν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ μακρᾷ ἀποκόπτεσθαι καὶ δήλην εἶναι τὴν τελευτήν, μὴ διὰ τὸν γραφέα, μηδὲ διὰ τὴν παραγραφὴν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ῥυθμόν.

ARISTOTLE, *Rhet.* iii. ch. 8.

- 3 Τίς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τούτων διαφορά, πάνυ ῥάδιον ἰδεῖν. ἡ μὲν ὅμοια περιλαμβάνουσα μέτρα καὶ τεταγμένους σφῆζουσα ῥυθμούς καὶ κατὰ στίχον ἢ περίοδον ἢ στροφὴν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περαινομένη κάπειτα πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξῆς στίχων ἢ περιόδων ἢ στροφῶν χρωμένη καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι πολλοῦ ποιοῦσα ἔρρυθμός ἐστι καὶ ἔμμετρος, καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται τῇ τοιαύτῃ λέξει μέτρον καὶ μέλος· ἡ δὲ πεπλανημένα μέτρα καὶ ἀτάκτους ῥυθμούς ἐμπεριλαμβάνουσα καὶ μήτε ἀκολουθίαν ἐμφαίνουσα αὐτῶν μήτε ὁμοζυγίαν μήτε ἀντιστροφὴν εὐρυθμος μὲν ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ διαπεποικιλταί τισιν ῥυθμοῖς, οὐκ ἔρρυθμος δέ, ἐπειδὴ οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. τοιαύτην δὴ φημι πᾶσαν εἶναι λέξιν ἄμετρον, ἥτις ἐμφαίνει τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ μελικόν· ἢ δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη κεχρησθαι φημι. DIONYSIUS HALICARNASEUS (c. 30 B. C.) περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων, §§ 196-7.

Αὐτίκα ὁ κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους λόγος οὗ καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ κωμικοῦ στίχου τετραμέτρου ἐξ ἀναπαίστων ῥυθμῶν συγκειμένου, λείπεται δὲ ποδὶ τοῦ τελείου, παρ' ὃ καὶ λέληθεν· ‘μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίση με’· τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ προσλάβοι τὸ μέτρον πόδα ἥτοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἢ διὰ μέσου ἢ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς, τέλειον ἔσται τετράμετρον ἀναπαιστικόν, ὃ καλοῦσιν τινες Ἀριστοφάνειον·

μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίση με παρεῖναι,
ἴσον δὲ τῷ

λέξω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν ὥς διέκειτο.

τάχα τις ἔρεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως τοῦτο ἀλλ' ἐκ ταυτομάτου ἐγένετο· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτοσχεδιάζει μέτρα ἢ φύσις. ἔστω τοῦτο ἀληθὲς εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συναπτόμενον τούτῳ κῶλον, εἰ διαλύσειέ τις αὐτοῦ τὴν δευτέραν συναλοιφήν ἢ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸ ἄσημον ἐπισυνάπτουσα τῷ τρίτῳ. κῶλῳ, πεντάμετρον ἐλεγεῖακόν ἐσται συντετελεσμένον τουτί

μήτ' ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμίας ἔνεκα
ὅμοιον τούτοις

κοῦραι ἐλαφρὰ ποδῶν ἵχνι' αἰεράμεναι.
καὶ τοῦτ' ἔτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπολάβωμεν αὐτοματισμὸν ἄνευ
γνώμης γεγυῆναι. ἀλλ' ἐνὸς τοῦ μεταξὺ κώλου συγκειμένου
λεκτικῶς τοῦ 'ἦκειν Ἀριστοκράτους κατηγορήσουτα τουτουί' τὸ
συμπλεκόμενον τούτῳ πάλιν κώλον ἐκ δυεῖν συνέστηκεν μέτρων·
'μήτε μικρὸν ὀρῶντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἀμάρτημα, ἐτοίμως οὕτως
ἐπὶ τούτῳ'. εἰ γὰρ τὸ Σαπφικὸν τις ἐπιθαλάμιον τουτί

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀτέρα πάις, ὧ γαμβρέ, τοιαυτά <ποτα>
καὶ τοῦ κωμικοῦ τετραμέτρου, λεγομένου δὲ Ἀριστοφανείου τουδί
ὅτ' ἐγὼ τὰ δίκαια λέγων ἦνθουν καὶ σωφροσύνη 'νενόμιστο
τοὺς τελευταίους πόδας τρεῖς καὶ τὴν κατάληξιν ἐκλαβὼν συνά-
ψει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀτέρα πάις, ὧ γαμβρέ, τοιαυτά <ποτα> καὶ σωφρο-
σύνη 'νενόμιστο·
οὐδὲν διοίσει τοῦ 'μήτε μικρὸν ὀρῶντά τι καὶ φαῦλον ἀμάρτημα,
ἐτοίμως οὕτως ἐπὶ τούτῳ'. τὸ δ' ἀκόλουθον ἴσον ἐστὶν ἱαμβικῷ
τρίμετρῳ τὸν ἔσχατον ἀφηρημένῳ πόδα 'προάγειν ἑμαυτὸν εἰς
ἀπέχθειαν'. τέλειον γὰρ ἔσται πόδα προσλαβὼν καὶ γενόμενον
τοιούτου

προάγειν ἑμαυτὸν εἰς ἀπέχθειάν τινα.
παρίδωμεν ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα ὥς οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἀλλ' αὐτο-
ματισμῷ γενόμενα; τί οὖν βούλεται πάλιν τὸ προσεχὲς τούτῳ
κώλου; ἱαμβεῖον γάρ ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο τρίμετρον ὀρθόν

ἀλλ' εἶπερ ἂρ' ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ λογίζομαι,
τοῦ ἄρα συνδέσμου μακρὰν λαμβάνοντος τὴν προτέραν συλλαβήν.
καὶ τί γε δὴ διὰ μέσου παρεμπεσὼν τὸ 'καὶ σκοπῶ', ὑφ' οὗ δὴ
τὸ μέτρον ἐπισκοτούμενον ἠφάνισται; τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρα-
λαμβανόμενον κώλον ἐξ ἀναπαίστων σύγκειται ῥυθμῶν καὶ
προάγει μέχρι ποδῶν ὀκτὼ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα διασφῶζον

περὶ τοῦ Χερώνησον ἔχειν ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ μὴ παρα-
κρουσθέντας,

ὅμοιον τῷ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ τῷδε
βασιλεῦ χώρας τῆς πολυβώλου
Κισσεῦ, πεδίων πυρὶ μαρμαίρει.

καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν κείμενον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κώλου μέρος τουτί
'ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς' ἱαμβικὸν τρίμετρόν ἐστι ποδὶ καὶ
ἡμίσει λειπούμενον· ἐγένετο δ' ἂν τέλειον οὕτως
ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς ἐν μέρει.

ταῦτ' ἔτι φῶμεν αὐτοσχέδια εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιτήδευτα οὕτω ποικίλα καὶ πολλὰ ὄντα; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἄξιῶ· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐξῆς τούτοις ὅμοια εὐρεῖν ἔστι πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνάμεστα μέτρων τε καὶ ῥυθμῶν.

ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τοῦτον ὑπολάβῃ τις μόνον οὕτως αὐτῷ κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν λόγον, ἐτέρου πάλιν ἄψομαι τοῦ πάνυ ἡρμηνεύσθαι δαιμονίως δοκοῦντος, τοῦ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος, ὃν ἐγὼ κράτιστον ἀποφαίνομαι πάντων λόγων· ὁρῶ δὴ καὶ τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν προσ-αγόρευσιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐθέως τὸν κρητικὸν ῥυθμόν, εἴτε ἄρα παιᾶνά τις αὐτὸν βούλεται καλεῖν (διοίσει γὰρ οὐδέν) τὸν ἐκ πέντε συγκεείμενον χρόνων οὐκ αὐτοσχεδίως μὰ Δία ἀλλ' ὥς οἶόν τε μάλιστα ἐπιτετηδευμένως δι' ὅλου τοῦ κώλου πλεκόμενον τούτου τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις.

οὐ τοιοῦτος μέντοι κακείνός ἐστιν ὁ ῥυθμός

Κρησίοις ἐν ῥυθμοῖς παῖδα μέλψωμεν;

ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ· ἕξω γὰρ τοῦ τελευταίου ποδὸς τά γε ἄλλα παντάπασιν ἴσα. ἔστω καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ βούλεται τις, αὐτοσχέδιον· ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸ συναπτόμενον τούτῳ κῶλον λαμβεῖόν ἐστιν ὀρθόν, συλλαβῇ τοῦ τελείου δέον, ἵνα δὴ κἀνταῦθα ἄσημον γένηται τὸ μέτρον, ἐπεὶ μιᾶς γε συλλαβῆς προστεθείσης τέλειον ἔσται

ὄσσην εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἔγωγε διατελῶ.

κᾶπειτα ὁ παιᾶν ἢ ὁ κρητικὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πεντάχρονος ἥξει ῥυθμὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς τούτοις 'τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τούτου τὸν ἀγῶνα'. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔοικεν, ὅ τι μὴ κατακλωμένους ἔχει δύο πόδας ἐν ἀρχαῖς, κατὰ γοῦν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῷ παρὰ Βακχυλίδη

Οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς, ἀλλὰ χρυσαιγίδος Ἰτανίας
χρῆ παρ' εὐδαίδαλον ναὸν ἐλθόντας ἀβρόν τι δεῖξαι.

Id. ib., §§ 198-206.

- 4 Ἐν τρισὶ δὲ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές, διανοία, λέξει, τῷ συγκεῖσθαι προσφόρως. σύνθεσις δὲ μεγαλοπρεπής, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἢ παιωνική. παιῶνος δὲ εἶδη δύο. τὸ μὲν προκαταρκτικόν, οὗ ἄρχει μὲν μακρά, λήγουσι δὲ τρεῖς βραχεῖαι, οἷον τὸ τοιόνδε· 'ἦρξατο δέ'. τὸ δὲ καταληκτικὸν θατέρῳ ἀντίστροφον οὗ τρεῖς μὲν βραχεῖαι ἄρχουσι, λήγει δὲ μία μακρά, ὥσπερ τὸ Ἀραβία. δεῖ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κώλοις τοῦ μεγαλοπρεποῦς λόγου τὸν προκαταρκτικὸν μὲν παιῶνα ἄρχειν τῶν κώλων, τὸν καταληκτικὸν δὲ ἐπεσθαι. παράδειγμα δ' αὐτῶν τὸ Θουκυδίδειον τόδε· 'ἦρξατο δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας'. τί ποτ' οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης οὕτω διετάξατο; ὅτι δεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ κώλου καὶ ἀρχὴν μεγαλοπρεπῆ εὐθὺς

εἶναι καὶ τέλος. τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἔαν ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἀρχώμεθα καὶ εἰς μακρὰν λήγωμεν. φύσει γὰρ μεγαλείον ἢ μακρὰ καὶ προλεγομένη τε πλησσει εὐθύς, καὶ ἀπολήγουσα ἐν μεγάλῳ τινὶ καταλείπει τὸν ἀκούοντα. πάντες γοῦν ἰδίως τῶν τε πρώτων μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων κινούμεθα, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ ἔλαττον ὥσπερ ἐγκρυπτομένων ἢ ἀναφανιζομένων . . . δεῖ μέντοι λογιζεσθαι ὅτι καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῶς δυνώμεθα τοῖς κώλοις περιτιθέναι τοὺς παιῶνας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἀμφοτέρους, παιωνικὴν γε πάντως ποιησόμεθα τὴν σύνθεσιν, οἷον ἐκ μακρῶν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ εἰς μακρὰς καταλήγοντες, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης παραγγέλλειν ἔοικε, ἄλλως δὲ τὸ διττὸν τοῦ παιῶνος τετεχνολογέσθαι ἀκριβείας ἕνεκα. διόπερ Θεόφραστος παράδειγμα ἐκτέθειται μεγαλοπρεπείας τὸ τοιοῦτον κῶλον· ‘τῶν μὲν περὶ τὰ μῆδενὸς ἄξια φιλοσοφούντων’. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ παιῶνων ἀκριβῶς ἀλλὰ παιωνικόν τί ἐστι . . . οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ὁ μὲν ἡρῶος, σεμνὸς καὶ οὐ λογικὸς ἀλλ’ ἡχώδης· οὐδὲ ἔρρυθμος ἀλλ’ ἄρρυθμος. ὥσπερ ὁ τοιόσδε· ‘ἦκειν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν’. ἡ γὰρ πυκνότης τῶν μακρῶν ὑπερπίπτει τοῦ λογικοῦ μέτρου. ὁ δὲ ἱαμβος εὐτελής καὶ τῇ τῶν πολλῶν λέξει ὁμοῖος. πολλοὶ γοῦν μέτρα ἱαμβικὰ λαλοῦσιν οὐκ εἰδότες.

DEMETRIUS (c. 100 A.D.) περὶ ἑρμηνείας, §§ 38-43.

Μικροποιῶν δ’ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ὥς ῥυθμὸς 5 κεκλασμένος λόγων καὶ σεσοβημένος, οἷον δὴ πυρρίχιοι καὶ τροχαῖοι καὶ διχόρειοι τέλεον εἰς ὀρχηστικὸν συνεκπίπτουντες· εὐθύς γὰρ πάντα φαίνεται τὰ κατάρρυθμα κομψὰ καὶ μικροχαρῇ καὶ ἀπαθέστατα διὰ τὰς ὁμοειδίας ἐπιπολάζοντα. καὶ ἔτι τούτων τὸ χεῖριστον ὅπως ὥσπερ τὰ ψᾶρια τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀφέλκει καὶ ἐφ’ αὐτὰ βιάζεται, οὕτω καὶ τὰ κατερρυθμισμένα τῶν λεγομένων οὐ τὸ τοῦ λόγου πάθος ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς ἀκούουσι, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ, ὥς ἐνίοτε προειδότας τὰς ὀφειλομένας καταλήξεις αὐτοὺς ὑποκρούειν τοῖς λέγουσι καὶ φθάνοντας ὥς ἐν χορῷ τινὶ προαποδιδόναι τὴν βάσιν.

AUCTOR (c. 100 A.D.) περὶ ὕψους, ch. 41.

Ὅταν γὰρ ἦτοι ἐρωτικόν τι ἐννόημα λέγωμεν ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 6 τι τῶν ἰδίων γλυκύτητος, μεθοδεύομεν τε οὕτως καὶ ἐρμηνεύομεν δι’ ἐπιθέτων καὶ ποιητικῶν ὀνομάτων, παρισωμέν τε τοῖς σχήμασιν ἢ τοῖς κώλοις ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ κάλλους ἰδίῳ σχήματι ἐξαγγέλλομεν, συντιθώμεν τε οὕτως καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ποιῶμεν σεμνοὺς ἅμα καὶ καλοὺς.

HERMOGENES (c. 160 A.D.) περὶ ἰδεῶν, ii. 368.

- 7 In gravi figura consumetur oratio si quae cuiusque rei poterunt ornatissima verba reperiri, sive propria sive extranea, unam quamque in rem accommodabuntur; et si graves sententiae, quae in amplificatione et commiseratione tractantur, eligentur; et si exornationes sententiarum aut verborum quae gravitatem habebunt, de quibus post dicemus, adhibebuntur. In hoc genere figurae erit hoc exemplum: 'Nam quis est vestrum, iudices, qui satis idoneam possit in eum poenam excogitare qui prodere hostibus patriam cogitarit? quod maleficio cum hoc scelere comparari, quod huic maleficio dignum supplicium potest inveniri? In iis qui violassent ingenuam, matrem familias construprassent, pulsassent aliquem aut postremo necassent, maxima supplicia maiores consumpserunt; huic truculentissimo ac nefario facinori singularem poenam reliquerunt. Atque in aliis maleficiis ad singulos aut ad paucos ex alieno peccato iniuria pervenit; huius sceleris qui sunt adfines uno consilio universis civibus atrocissimas calamitates machinantur. O feros animos! o crudelis cogitationes! o derelictos homines ab humanitate! qui id agere ausi sunt aut cogitare potuerunt, quo pacto hostes revulsis maiorum sepulchris, deiectis moenibus, ovantes irruerent in civitatem; quo modo deum templis spoliatis, optimatibus trucidatis, aliis abreptis in servitutem, matribus familias et ingenuis sub hostilem libidinem subiectis, urbs acerbissimo concideret incendio conflagrata; qui se non putant id quod voluerint ad exitum perduxisse, nisi sanctissimae patriae miserandum scelerati viderint cinerem.'

Auctor ad Herennium, iv, §§ 11-12.

Transgressio est quae verborum perturbat ordinem perversione aut traiectione. Perversione sic: Hoc vobis deos immortalis arbitror dedisse pietate pro vestra. Traiectione hoc modo: Instabilis in istum plurimum fortuna valuit. Item: Omnis invidiose eripuit tibi bene vivendi casus facultates. Huius modi traiectio, quae rem non reddit obscuram, multum proderit ad continuationes, de quibus ante dictum est; in quibus oportet verba sint ad poeticum quendam exstructa numerum, ut perfecte et perpolitissime possint esse absolutae.

Ib., § 44.

- 8 Post a me Asia tota peragrata est cum summis quidem oratoribus, quibuscum exercebar ipsis libentibus; quorum erat princeps Menippus Stratonicensis meo iudicio tota Asia illis temporibus

disertissimus; et, si nihil habere molestiarum nec ineptiarum Atticorum est, hic orator in illis numerari recte potest. Adsiduissime autem mecum fuit Dionysius Magnes; erat etiam Aeschylus Cnidius, Adramyttenus Xenocles. Hi tum in Asia rhetorum principes numerabantur. Quibus non contentus Rhodum veni meque ad eundem quem Romae audiveram Molonem applicavi, cum actorem in veris causis scriptoremque praestantem tum in notandis animadvertendisque vitiis et in instituendo docendoque prudentissimum. Is dedit operam, si modo id consequi potuit, ut nimis redundantis nos et supra fluentis iuvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret et quasi extra ripas diffluentis coerceret. Ita recepi me biennio post non modo excitatior sed prope mutatus. CICERO, *Brutus*, §§ 315-16.

Aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre atque incitatum, quale est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum, in quo fuit Aeschylus Cnidius et meus aequalis Milesius Aeschines. In his erat admirabilis orationis cursus, ornata sententiarum concinnitas non erat. Haec autem, ut dixi, genera dicendi aptiora sunt adolescentibus, in senibus gravitatem non habent. *Id. ib.*, § 325.

Datur etiam venia concinnitati sententiarum et arguti certique et circumscripti verborum ambitus conceduntur, de industriaque non ex insidiis sed aperte ac palam elaboratur ut verba verbis quasi demensa et paria respondeant, ut crebro conferantur pugnancia comparenturque contraria et ut pariter extrema terminentur eundemque referant in cadendo sonum; quae in veritate causarum et rarius multo facimus et certe occultius. In Panathenaico autem Isocrates ea se studiose consecratum fatetur; non enim ad iudiciorum certamen, sed ad voluptatem aurium scripserat. Haec tractasse Thrasy Machum Calchedonium primum et Leontinum ferunt Gorgiam, Theodorum inde Byzantium multosque alios quos *λογοδαίδαλους* appellat in Phaedro Socrates; quorum satis arguta multa, sed ut modo primumque nascentia minuta et versiculorum similia quaedam nimiumque depicta.

Id. Orator, §§ 38-9.

In quo illud etiam notandum mihi videtur ad studium persequendae suavitatis in vocibus: ipsa enim natura, quasi modularetur hominum orationem, in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem

nec una plus nec a postrema syllaba citra tertiam; quo magis naturam ducem ad aurium voluptatem sequatur industria.

Id. ib., § 58.

Quod quidem Latina lingua sic observat, nemo ut tam rusticus sit qui vocalis nolit coniungere.

Id. ib., § 150.

In ea est crebra ista vocalium concursio, quam magna ex parte ut vitiosam fugit Demosthenes.

Sed Graeci viderint; nobis ne si cupiamus quidem distrahere voces conceditur. Indicant orationes illae ipsae horridulae Catonis, indicant omnes poetae praeter eos qui, ut verum facerent, saepe hiabant, ut Naevius:

vos, qui accolitis Histrum fluvium atque algidam
et ibidem:

quam numquam vobis Grai atque barbari.

At Ennius saepe

Scipio invicte,

et semel quidem nos:

hoc motu radiantis etesiae in vada ponti. *Id. ib.*, §§ 151-2.

Nec solum componentur verba ratione, sed etiam finientur, quoniam id iudicium esse alterum aurium diximus. Et finiuntur aut ipsa compositione et quasi sua sponte, aut quodam genere verborum, in quibus ipsis concinnitas inest; quae sive casus habent in exitu similis sive paribus paria redduntur sive opponuntur contraria, suapte natura numerosa sunt, etiam si nihil est factum de industria. In huius concinnitatis consecratione Gorgiam fuisse principem accepimus; quo de genere illa nostra sunt in Miloniana: Est enim, iudices, haec non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus. Haec enim talia sunt ut, quia referuntur eo quo debent referri, intellegamus non quaesitum esse numerum, sed secutum. Quod fit item in contrariis referendis, ut illa sunt quibus non modo numerosa oratio sed etiam versus efficitur:

eam quam nihil accusas damnas—
condemnas dixisset qui verum effugere vellet—,

bene quam meritam esse autumas

male merere? id quod scis prodest nihil; id quod nescis obest? Versum efficit ipsa relatio contrariorum. Idem esset in oratione numerosum: Quod scis nihil prodest; quod nescis multum obest.

Semper haec, quae Graeci ἀντίθετα nominant, cum contrariis opponuntur contraria, numerum oratorium necessitate ipsa efficiunt etiam sine industria. Hoc genere antiqui iam ante Isocratem delectabantur et maxime Gorgias, cuius in oratione plerumque efficit numerum ipsa concinnitas. Nos etiam in hoc genere frequentes, ut illa sunt in quarto accusationis: 'Conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello, huius praetoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria, huius cohortem impuram cum illius exercitu invicto, huius libidines cum illius continentia: ab illo qui cepit conditas, ab hoc qui constitutas accepit captas dicetis Syracusas.'

Ergo et hi numeri sint cogniti et genus illud tertium explicetur quale sit, numerosae et aptae orationis. Quod qui non sentiunt, quas auris habeant aut quid in his hominis simile sit nescio. Meae quidem et perfecto completoque verborum ambitu gaudent et curta sentiunt nec amant redundantia. Quid dico meas? Contiones saepe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba cecidissent. Id enim expectant aures, ut verbis conligetur sententia. 'Non erat hoc apud antiquos.' Et quidem nihil aliud fere non erat; nam et verba eligebant et sententias gravis et suavis reperiebant, sed eas aut vinciebant aut explebant parum. *Id. ib., §§ 164-8.*

Sed habet nomen invidiam, cum in oratione iudiciali et forensi numerus [Latine, Graece ῥυθμός] inesse dicitur. Nimis enim insidiarum ad capiendas auris adhiberi videtur, si etiam in dicendo numeri ab oratore quaeruntur. Hoc freti isti et ipsi infracta et amputata loquuntur et eos vituperant qui apta et finita pronuntiant; si inanibus verbis levibusque sententiis, iure; sin probares, lecta verba, quid est cur claudere aut insistere orationem malint quam cum sententia pariter excurrere? Hic enim invidiosus numerus nihil adfert aliud nisi ut sit apte verbis comprehensa sententia; quod fit etiam ab antiquis, sed plerumque casu saepe natura; et quae valde laudantur apud illos, ea fere quia sunt conclusa laudantur. Et apud Graecos quidem iam anni prope quadringenti sunt cum hoc probatur; nos nuper agnovimus. *Id. ib., §§ 170-1.*

In versu quidem theatra tota exclamant, si fuit una syllaba aut brevior aut longior; nec vero multitudo pedes novit nec ullos numeros tenet nec illud quod offendit aut curat aut in quo offendit intellegit; et tamen omnium longitudinum et brevitatum in sonis sicut acutarum graviumque vocum iudicium ipsa natura in auribus nostris conlocavit. *Id. ib., § 173.*

Quoniam igitur habemus aptae orationis eos principes auctores-que quos diximus et origo inventa est, causa quaeratur. Quae sic aperta est ut mirer veteres non esse commotos, praesertim cum, ut fit, fortuito saepe aliquid concludere apteque dicerent. Quod cum animos hominum aurisque pepulisset, ut intellegi posset id quod casus effudisset cecidisse iucunde, notandum certe genus atque ipsi sibi imitandi fuerunt. Ipsae enim aures vel animus aurium nuntio naturalem quandam in se continet vocum omnium mentionem. Itaque et longiora et breviora iudicat et perfecta ac moderata semper expectat; mutila sentit quaedam et quasi decurtata, quibus tamquam debito fraudetur offenditur, productiora alia et quasi immoderatus excurrentia, quae magis etiam aspernantur aures; quod cum in plerisque tum in hoc genere nimium quod est offendit vehementius quam id quod videtur parum. Vt igitur poeticae versus inventus est terminatione aurium, observatione prudentium, sic in oratione animadversum est, multo illud quidem serius, sed eadem natura admonente, esse quosdam certos cursus conclusionesque verborum.

Id. ib., §§ 177-8.

Est autem longioris prima illa quaestio sitne omnino ulla numerosa oratio; quibusdam enim non videtur, quia nihil insit in ea certi ut in versibus, et quod ipsi qui adfirmant esse eos numeros rationem cur sint non queant reddere. Deinde, si sit numerus in oratione, qualis sit aut quales, et e poeticisne numeris an ex alio genere quodam et, si e poeticis, quis eorum sit aut qui; namque aliis unus modo aliis plures aliis omnes idem videntur. Deinde, quicumque sunt sive unus sive plures, communesne sint omni generi orationis—quoniam aliud genus est narrandi aliud persuadendi aliud docendi—an dispares numeri cuique orationis generi accommodentur; si communes, qui sint; si dispares, quid intersit et cur non aequae in oratione atque in versu numerus appareat. Deinde, quod dicitur in oratione numerosum, id utrum numero solum efficiatur, an etiam vel compositione quadam vel genere verborum; an sit suum cuiusque, ut numerus intervallis, compositio vocibus, genus ipsum verborum quasi quadam forma et lumine orationis appareat, sitque omnium fons compositio ex eaque et numerus efficiatur et ea quae dicuntur orationis quasi formae et lumina, quae, ut dixi, Graeci vocant *σχήματα*.

Id. ib., §§ 180-1.

Esse ergo in oratione numerum quandam non est difficile

cognoscere. Iudicat enim sensus; in quo est iniquum quod accidit non agnoscere, si cur id accadat reperire nequeamus. Neque enim ipse versus ratione est cognitus, sed natura atque sensu, quem dimensa ratio docuit quid accideret. Ita notatio naturae et animadversio peperit artem. Sed in versibus res est apertior, quamquam etiam a modis quibusdam cantu remoto soluta esse videtur oratio maximeque id in optimo quoque eorum poetarum qui *λυρικοί* a Graecis nominantur, quos cum cantu spoliaveris, nuda paene remanet oratio. Quorum similia sunt quaedam etiam apud nostros, velut illa in Thyeste:

quemnam te esse dicam? qui tarda in senecta
et quae sequuntur; quae, nisi cum tibicen accessit, orationis sunt solutae simillima. At comicorum senarii propter similitudinem sermonis sic saepe sunt abiecti, ut non numquam vix in eis numerus et versus intellegi possit. *Id. ib.*, §§ 183-4.

Numerus autem non domo depromebatur neque habebat aliquam necessitudinem aut cognitionem cum oratione. Itaque serius aliquanto notatus et cognitus quasi quandam palaestram et extrema liniamenta orationi attulit. Quod si et angusta quaedam atque concisa et alia est dilatata et fusa oratio, necesse est id non litterarum accidere natura, sed intervallorum longorum et brevium varietate; quibus implicata atque permixta oratio quoniam tum stabilis est tum volubilis, necesse est eius modi vi naturam numeri contineri. Nam circuitus ille quem saepe iam diximus incitator numero ipso fertur et labitur, quoad perveniat ad finem et insistat. Perspicuum est igitur numeris astrictam orationem esse debere, carere versibus.

Sed hi numeri poeticine sint an ex alio genere quodam deinceps est videndum. Nullus est igitur numerus extra poeticos, propterea quod definita sunt genera numerorum. Nam omnis talis est ut unus sit e tribus. Pes enim, qui adhibetur ad numeros, partitur in tria, ut necesse sit partem pedis aut aequalem esse alteri parti aut altero tanto aut sesqui esse maiorem. Ita fit aequalis dactylus, duplex iambus, sesquplex paeon; qui pedes in orationem non cadere qui possunt? quibus ordine locatis quod efficitur numerosum sit necesse est. *Id. ib.*, §§ 186-8.

Sequitur ergo ut qui maxime cadant in orationem aptam numeri videndum sit. Sunt enim qui iambicum putent, quod sit orationis simillimus, qua de causa fieri ut is potissimum propter similitudinem veritatis adhibeatur in fabulis, quod ille dactylicus

numerus hexametrorum magniloquentiae sit accommodatior. Ephorus autem, levis ipse orator et profectus ex optima disciplina, paeana sequitur aut dactylum, fugit autem spondeum et trochaeum. Quod enim paean habebat tris brevis, dactylus autem duas, brevitate et celeritate syllabarum labi putat verba proclivius contraque accidere in spondeo et trochaeo; quorum quod alter e longis constet alter e brevibus, fieri alteram nimis incitatum alteram nimis tardam orationem, neutram temperatam. Sed et illi priores errant et Ephorus in culpa est. Nam et qui paeana praetereunt, non vident mollissimum a sese numerum eundemque amplissimum praeteriri. Quod longe Aristoteli videtur secus, qui iudicat heroum numerum grandiolem quam desideret soluta oratio, iambum autem nimis e vulgari esse sermone. Ita neque humilem et abiectam orationem nec nimis altam et exaggeratam probat, plenam tamen eam vult esse gravitatis, ut eos qui audient ad maiorem admirationem possit traducere. Trochaeum autem, qui est eodem spatio quo choreus, cordacem appellat, quia contractio et brevis dignitatem non habeat. Ita paeana probat eoque ait uti omnis, sed ipsos non sentire cum utantur; esse autem tertium ac medium inter illos, et ita factos eos pedes esse, ut in eis singulis modus insit aut sesquipleus aut duplex aut par. Itaque illi de quibus ante dixi tantum modo commoditatis habuerunt rationem, nullam dignitatis. Iambus enim et dactylus in versum cadunt maxime; itaque ut versum fugimus in oratione, sic hi sunt evitandi continuati pedes; aliud enim quiddam est oratio nec quicquam inimicius quam illa versibus; paeana autem minime est aptus ad versum, quo libentius eum recepit oratio. Ephorus vero ne spondeum quidem, quem fugit, intellegit esse aequalem dactylo, quem probat. Syllabis enim metiendos pedes, non intervallis existimat; quod idem facit in trochaeo, qui temporibus et intervallis est par iambo, sed eo vitiosus in oratione, si ponatur extremus, quod verba melius in syllabas longiores cadunt. Atque haec, quae sunt apud Aristotelem, eadem a Theophrasto Theodecteque de paeane dicuntur. Ego autem sentio omnis in oratione esse quasi permixtos et confusos pedes, nec enim effugere possemus animadversionem si semper isdem uteremur, quia nec numerosa esse, ut poema, neque extra numerum, ut sermo vulgi, esse debet oratio—alterum nimis est vinctum, ut de industria factum appareat, alterum nimis dissolutum, ut pervagatum ac vulgare videatur; ut ab altero non delectere, alterum oderis—; sit igitur, ut supra dixi, permixta et temperata numeris

nec dissoluta nec tota numerosa, paeane maxime, quoniam optimus auctor ita censet, sed reliquis etiam numeris, quos ille praeterit, temperata.

Id. ib., §§ 191-6.

Nec vero is cursus est numerorum—orationis dico, nam est longe aliter in versibus—nihil ut fiat extra modum; nam id quidem esset poema; sed omnis nec claudicans nec quasi fluctuans sed aequabiliter constanterque ingrediens numerosa habetur oratio. Atque id in dicendo numerosum putatur, non quod totum constat e numeris, sed quod ad numeros proxime accedit; quo etiam difficilior est oratione uti quam versibus, quod in illis certa quaedam et definita lex est, quam sequi sit necesse; in dicendo autem nihil est propositum, nisi ut ne immoderata aut angusta aut dissoluta aut fluens sit oratio. Itaque non sunt in ea tamquam tibicini percussionum modi, sed universa comprehensio et species orationis clausa et terminata est, quod voluptate aurium iudicatur.

Solet autem quaeri totone in ambitu verborum numeri tenendi sint an in primis partibus atque in extremis; plerique enim censent cadere tantum numero oportere terminarique sententiam. Est autem, ut id maxime deceat, non ut solum; ponendus est enim ille ambitus, non abiciendus. Qua re cum aures extremum semper expectent in eoque acquiescant, id vacare numero non oportet, sed ad hunc exitum iam a principio ferri debet verborum illa comprehensio et tota a capite ita fluere ut ad extremum veniens ipsa consistat. Id autem bona disciplina exercitatis, qui et multa scripserint et quaecumque etiam sine scripto dicent similia scriptorum effecerint, non erit difficillimum. Ante enim circumscribitur mente sententia confestimque verba concurrunt, quae mens eadem, qua nihil est celerius, statim dimittit, ut suo quodque loco respondeant; quorum discriptus ordo alias alia terminatione concluditur. Atque omnia illa et prima et media verba spectare debent ad ultimum. Interdum enim cursus est in oratione incitator, interdum moderata ingressio, ut iam a principio videndum sit quem ad modum velis venire ad extremum.

Id. ib., §§ 198-201.

Ita fit ut non item in oratione ut in versu numerus exstet idque quod numerosum in oratione dicitur non semper numero fiat, sed non numquam aut concinnitate aut constructione verborum. Ita si numerus orationis quaeritur qui sit, omnis est, sed alius alio melior atque aptior; si locus, in omni parte verborum; si unde

ortus sit, ex aurium voluptate ; si componendorum ratio, dicetur alio loco, quia pertinet ad usum, quae pars quarta et extrema nobis in dividendo fuit ; si ad quam rem adhibeatur, ad delectationem ; si quando, semper ; si quo loco, in tota continuatione verborum ; si quae res efficiat voluptatem, eadem quae in versibus, quorum modum notat ars, sed aures ipsae tacito eum sensu sine arte definiunt.

Id. ib., §§ 202-3.

Sed quoniam adhibenda non numquam est, primum videndum est quo loco, deinde quam diu retinenda sit, tum quot modis commutanda. Adhibenda est igitur numerosa oratio, si aut laudandum est aliquid ornatius, ut nos in accusationis secundo de Siciliae laude diximus, ut in senatu de consulatu meo, aut exponenda narratio, quae plus dignitatis desiderat quam doloris, ut in quarto accusationis de Hennensi Cerere, de Segestana Diana, de Syracusarum situ diximus. Saepe etiam in amplificanda re concessu omnium funditur numerose et volubiliter oratio. Id nos fortasse non perfecimus, conati quidem saepissime sumus ; quod plurimis locis perorationes nostrae voluisse nos atque animo contendisse declarant. Id autem tum valet cum is qui audit ab oratore iam obsessus est ac tenetur. Non enim id agit ut insidietur et observet, sed iam favet processumque vult dicendique vim admirans non anquirat quid reprehendat. Haec autem forma retinenda non diu est, nec dico in peroratione, quam ipsam includit, sed in orationis reliquis partibus. Nam cum sis eis locis usus quibus ostendi licere, transferenda tota dictio est ad illa quae nescio cur, cum Graeci κόμματα et κῶλα nominent, nos non recte incisa et membra dicamus. Neque enim esse possunt rebus ignotis nota nomina, sed cum verba aut suavitatis aut inopiae causa transferre soleamus, in omnibus hoc fit artibus, ut, cum id appellandum sit quod propter rerum ignorance ipsarum nullum habuerit ante nomen, necessitas cogat aut novum facere verbum aut a simili mutuari.

Quo autem pacto deceat incise membratimve dici iam videbimus ; nunc quot modis mutantur comprehensiones conclusionisque dicendum est. Fluit omnino numerus a primo tum incitatus brevitate pedum, tum proceritate tardius. Cursum contentiones magis requirunt, expositiones rerum tarditatem. Insistit autem ambitus modis pluribus, e quibus unum est secuta Asia maxime, qui dichoreus vocatur, cum duo extremi chorei sunt, id est e singulis longis et brevibus. Explanandum est enim, quod ab

aliis eidem pedes aliis vocabulis nominantur. Dichoreus non est ille quidem sua sponte vitiosus in clausulis, sed in orationis numero nihil est tam vitiosum quam si semper est idem. Cadit autem per se ille ipse praeclare, quo etiam satietas formidanda est magis. Me stante C. Carbo C. F. tribunus plebis in contione dixit his verbis: *O Marce Druse, patrem appello*—haec quidem duo binis pedibus incisim; dein membratim: *Tu dicere solebas sacram esse rem publicam*;—haec item membra ternis; post ambitus: *Quicumque eam violavissent, ab omnibus esse ei poenas persolutas*;—dichoreus; nihil enim ad rem, extrema illa longa sit an brevis; deinde: *Patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit*—hoc dichoreo tantus clamor contionis excitatus est ut admirabile esset. Quaero nonne id numerus effecerit? Verborum ordinem immuta, fac sic: *Comprobavit filii temeritas*, iam nihil erit, etsi temeritas ex tribus brevibus et longa est, quem Aristoteles ut optimum probat, a quo dissentio. ‘At eadem verba, eadem sententia.’ Animo istuc satis est, auribus non satis. Sed id crebrius fieri non oportet; primum enim numerus agnoscitur, deinde satiat, postea cognita facilitate contemnitur.

Sed sunt clausulae plures, quae numerose et iucunde cadant. Nam et creticus, qui est e longa et brevi et longa, et eius aequalis paeon, qui spatio par est, syllaba longior, quam commodissime putatur in solutam orationem inligari, cum sit duplex. Nam aut e longa est et tribus brevibus, qui numerus in primo viget, iacet in extremo, aut e totidem brevibus et longa, in quem optime cadere censeret veteres; ego non plane reicio, sed alios antepono. Ne spondeus quidem funditus est repudiandus, etsi, quod est e longis duabus, hebetior videtur et tardior; habet tamen stabilem quandam et non expertem dignitatis gradum, in incisionibus vero multo magis et in membris; paucitatem enim pedum gravitate sua et tarditate compensat. Sed hos cum in clausulis pedes nomino, non loquor de uno pede extremo: adiungo, quod minimum sit, proximum superiorem, saepe etiam tertium. Ne iambus quidem, qui est e brevi et longa, aut par choreo qui habet tris brevis trochaeus, sed spatio par, non syllabis, aut etiam dactylus, qui est e longa et duabus brevibus, si est proximus a postremo, parum volubiliter pervenit ad extremum, si est extremus choreus aut spondeus; numquam enim interest uter sit eorum in pede extremo. Sed idem hi tres pedes male concludunt, si quis eorum in extremo locatus est, nisi cum pro cretico postremus est dactylus; nihil enim interest dactylus sit extremus an creticus, quia pos-

trema syllaba brevis an longa sit ne in versu quidem refert. Quare etiam paeana qui dixit aptiorem, in quo esset longa postrema, vidit parum, quoniam nihil ad rem est, postrema quam longa sit. Iam paeon, quod pluris habeat syllabas quam tris, numerus a quibusdam, non pes habetur. Est quidem, ut inter omnis constat antiquos, Aristotelem, Theophrastum, Theodectem, Ephorum, unus aptissimus orationi vel orienti vel mediae; putant illi etiam cadenti, quo loco mihi videtur aptior creticus. Dochmius autem e quinque syllabis, brevi, duabus longis, brevi, longa, ut est hoc: *Amicos tenes*, quovis loco aptus est, dum semel ponatur: iteratus aut continuatus numerum apertum et nimis insignem facit. His igitur tot commutationibus tamque variis si utemur, nec deprehendetur manifesto quid a nobis de industria fiat et occurreret satietati. Et quia non numero solum numerosa oratio sed et compositione fit et genere, quod ante dictum est, concinnitatis—compositione potest intellegi, cum ita structa verba sunt, ut numerus non quaesitus sed ipse secutus esse videatur, ut apud Crassum: *Nam ubi libida dominatur, innocentiae leve praesidium est*; ordo enim verborum efficit numerum sine ulla aperta oratoris industria—; itaque si quae veteres illi, Herodotum dico et Thucydidem totamque eam aetatem, apte numero sequere dixerunt, ea non numero quaesito, sed verborum conlocatione ceciderunt. Formae vero quaedam sunt orationis, in quibus ea concinnitas est ut sequatur numerus necessario. Nam cum aut par pari refertur aut contrarium contrario opponitur aut quae similiter cadunt verba verbis comparantur, quidquid ita concluditur, plerumque fit ut numero cadat, quo de genere cum exemplis supra diximus; ut haec quoque copia facultatem adferat non semper eodem modo desinendi. Nec tamen haec ita sunt arta et astricta ut ea, cum velimus, laxare nequeamus. Multum interest utrum numerosa sit, id est similis numerorum, an plane e numeris constet oratio; alterum si fit, intolerabile vitium est, alterum nisi fit, dissipata et inculta et fluens est oratio. *Id. ib.*, §§ 210–20.

Sed nihil tam debet esse numerosum quam hoc, quod minime apparet et valet plurimum. Ex hoc genere illud est Crassi: *Missos faciant patronos; ipsi prodeant*;—nisi intervallo dixisset ipsi prodeant, sensisset profecto se fudisse senarium; omnino melius caderet *prodeant ipsi*; sed de genere nunc disputo;—*cur clandestinis consiliis nos oppugnant? cur de perfugis nostris copias comparant contra nos?* Prima sunt illa duo, quae κόμματα

Graeci vocant, non incisa dicimus; deinde tertium κῶλον illi, nos membrum; sequitur non longa—ex duobus enim versibus, id est membris, perfecta comprehensio est et in spondeos cadit; et Crassus quidem sic plerumque dicebat, idque ipse genus dicendi maxime probo. Sed quae incisim aut membratim efferuntur, ea vel aptissime cadere debent, ut est apud me: *Domus tibi deerat? at habebas. Pecunia superabat? at egebas*; haec incise dicta sunt quattuor; at membratim quae sequuntur duo: *Incurristi amens in columnas, in alienos insanus insanisti*. Deinde omnia tamquam crepidine quadam comprehensione longiore sustinentur: *Depressam, caecam, iacentem domum pluris quam te et quam fortunas tuas aestimasti*. Dichoreo finitur. At spondeis proximum illud. Nam in his, quibus ut pugiunculis uti oportet, brevitatem faciet ipsa liberiores pedes; saepe enim singulis utendum est, plerumque binis, et utrisque addi pedis pars potest, non fere ternis amplius. Incisim autem et membratim tractata oratio in veris causis plurimum valet, maximeque eis locis, cum aut arguas aut refellas, ut nos in Cornelianae secunda: *O callidos homines, o rem excogitatam, o ingenia metuenda!* Membratim adhuc; deinde caesim: *Diximus, rursus membratim: Testis dare volumus*. Extrema sequitur comprehensio, sed ex duobus membris, qua non potest esse brevior: *Quem, quaeso, nostrum fefellit ita vos esse facturos?* Nec ullum genus est dicendi aut melius aut fortius quam binis aut ternis ferire verbis, non numquam singulis, paulo alias pluribus, inter quae variis clausulis interponit se raro numerosa comprehensio; quam perverse fugiens Hegesias, dum ille quoque imitari Lysiam vult alterum paene Demosthenem, saltat incidens particulas. Et is quidem non minus sententiis peccat quam verbis, ut non quaerat quem appellet ineptum qui illum cognoverit.

Id. ib., §§ 222–6.

Apud alios autem et Asiaticos maxime numero servientes inculcata reperias inania quaedam verba quasi complementa numerorum. Sunt etiam qui illo vitio, quod ab Hegesia maxime fluxit, infringendis concidendisque numeris in quoddam genus abiectum incidant versiculorum simillimum. Tertium est, in quo fuerunt fratres illi Asiaticorum rhetorum principes Hierocles et Meneclae minime mea sententia contemnendi. Etsi enim a forma veritatis et ab Atticorum regula absunt, tamen hoc vitium compensant vel facultate vel copia. Sed apud eos varietas non erat, quod omnia fere concludebantur uno modo. Quae vitia qui fugerit, ut neque

verbum ita traiciat ut id de industria factum intellegatur, neque inferciens verba quasi rimas expleat, nec minutos numeros sequens concidat delumbetque sententias, nec sine ulla commutatione in eodem semper versetur genere numerorum, is omnia fere vitia vitaverit. Nam de laudibus multa diximus, quibus sunt illa perspicue vitia contraria. Quantum autem sit apte dicere, experiri licet, si aut compositi oratoris bene structam conlocationem dissolvas permutatione verborum; — corrumpatur enim tota res, ut et haec nostra in Corneliana et deinceps omnia: *Neque me divitiae movent, quibus omnis Africanos et Laelios multi venalicii mercatoresque superarunt*: immuta paululum, ut sit *multi superarunt mercatores venalicii*que, perierit tota res; et quae sequuntur: *Neque vestis aut caelatum aurum et argentum, quo nostros veteres Marcellos Maximosque multi eunuchi e Syria Aegyptoque vicerunt*; verba permuta sic, ut sit *vicerunt eunuchi e Syria Aegyptoque*: adde tertium: *Neque vero ornamenta ista villarum, quibus L. Paullum et L. Mummius, qui rebus his urbem Italiamque omnem referserunt, ab aliquo video perfacile Deliaci aut Syro potuisse superari*; fac ita: *potuisse superari ab aliquo Syro aut Deliaci*; videsne ut, ordine verborum paululum commutato, isdem tamen verbis stante sententia, ad nihilum omnia recidant, cum sint ex aptis dissoluta? Aut si alicuius inconditi arripas dissipatam aliquam sententiam eamque ordine verborum paululum commutato in quadrum redigas, efficiatur aptum illud quod fuerit antea diffuens ac solutum. Age sume de Gracchi apud censores illud: *Abesse non potest quin eiusdem hominis sit probos improbare qui improbos probet*; quanto aptius, si ita dixisset: *Quin eiusdem hominis sit qui improbos probet probos improbare!* Hoc modo dicere nemo umquam noluit nemoque potuit quin dixerit; qui autem aliter dixerunt, hoc adsequi non potuerunt. Ita facti sunt repente Attici; quasi vero Trallianus fuerit Demosthenes! cuius non tam vibrarent fulmina illa, nisi numeris contorta ferrentur. Sed si quem magis delectant soluta, sequatur ea sane, modo sic ut, si quis Phidiae clipeum dissolverit, conlocationis universam speciem sustulerit, non singulorum operum venustatem; ut in Thucydide orbem modo orationis desidero, ornamenta comparent.

Id. ib., §§ 230-4.

- 9 Etiam ubi aliud ratio aliud consuetudo poscet: utrum volet, sumat compositio, *Vitavisse* vel *vitasse*, *Deprendere* vel *deprehen-dere*. Coitus etiam syllabarum non negabo, et quidquid sen-

tentiis aut elocutioni non nocebit. Praecipuum tamen in hoc opus est, scire quod quoque loco verborum maxime quadret. Atque is optime componet, qui hoc non solum componendi gratia facit.

Ratio vero pedum in oratione est multo quam in versu difficilior: primum quod versus paucis continetur, oratio longiores habet saepe circuitus; deinde quod versus semper similis sibi est et una ratione decurrit, orationis compositio, nisi varia est, et offendit similitudine et in affectatione deprehenditur. Et in omni quidem corpore totoque (ut ita dixerim) tractu numerus insertus est. Neque enim loqui possumus nisi syllabis brevibus ac longis, ex quibus pedes fiunt. Magis tamen et desideratur in clausulis et apparet: primum quia sensus omnis habet suum finem poscitque naturale intervallum, quo a sequentis initio dividatur; deinde quod aures continuam vocem secutae ductaeque velut prono decurrentis orationis flumine tum magis iudicant cum ille impetus stetit et intuendi tempus dedit. Non igitur durum sit neque abruptum, quo animi velut respirant ac reficiuntur. Haec est sedes orationis, hoc auditor expectat, hic laus omnis declamantium. Proximam clausulis diligentiam postulant initia, nam et in haec intentus auditor est. Sed eorum facilior ratio est, non enim cohaerent sed praecedentibus serviunt; exordium sumunt cum ea, quamlibet sit composita. Ipsa gratiam perdet, si ad eam rupta via venerimus. Namque cum fit ut Demosthenis severa videatur compositio, *πρῶτον μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὖχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις* et illa (quae ab uno, quod sciam, Bruto minus probatur, ceteris placet) *κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξέῃ*, Ciceronem carpant in his: *Familiaris coeperat esse balneatori*, et *Non nimium dura archipiratae*. Nam *balneatori* et *archipiratae* idem finis est qui *πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις* et qui *μηδὲ τοξέῃ*, sed priora sunt severiora. Est in eo quoque nonnihil, quod hic singulis verbis bini pedes continentur, quod etiam in carminibus est permolle; nec solum ubi quinae, ut in his, syllabae nectuntur, *Fortissima Tyndaridarum*; sed etiam quaternae, cum versus cluditur *Apennino* et *armamentis* et *Oreione*. Quare hoc quoque vitandum est, ne plurium syllabarum his verbis utamur in fine.

Mediis quoque non ea modo cura sit ut inter se cohaereant, sed ne pigra, ne longa sint, ne, quod nunc maxime vitium est, brevium contextu resultent ac sonum reddant paene puerilium crepitaculorum. Nam ut initia clausulaeque plurimum momenti habent, quotiens incipit sensus aut desinit: sic in mediis quoque

sunt quidam conatus, iique leviter insistunt. Currentium pes, etiamsi non moratur, tamen vestigium facit. Itaque non modo membra atque incisa bene incipere atque cludi decet, sed etiam in iis, quae non dubie contexta sunt nec respiratione utuntur, illi vel occulti gradus. Quis enim dubitet unum sensum in hoc et unum spiritum esse: *Animadverti, iudices, omnem accusatoris orationem in duas divisam esse partes?* tamen et duo prima verba et tria proxima et deinceps duo rursus ac tria suos quasi numeros habent spiritum sustinentes, sicut apud rhythmicos aestimantur. Hae particulae prout sunt graves, acres, lentae, celeres, remissae, exultantes: proinde id quod ex illis conficitur aut severum aut luxuriosum aut quadratum aut solutum erit. Quaedam etiam clausulae sunt claudae atque pendentes, si relinquuntur, sed sequentibus suscipi ac sustineri solent, eoque facto vitium, quod erat in fine, continuatio emendat. *Non vult populus Romanus obsoletis criminibus accusari Verrem* durum, si desinas; sed cum est continuatum iis quae sequuntur, quanquam natura ipsa divisa sint, *Nova postulat, inaudita desiderat*: salvus est cursus. *Vt adeas, tantum dabis*, male cluderet, nam et trimetri versus pars ultima est: excipit *Vt cibum vestitumque introferre liceat, tantum*; praeceptum adhuc firmatur ac sustinetur ultimo *Nemo recusabat*.

Versum in oratione fieri multo foedissimum est totum, sed etiam in parte deforme; utique si pars posterior in clausula deprehendatur aut rursus prior in ingressu. Nam quod est contra saepe etiam decet, quia et claudit interim optime prima pars versus, dum intra paucas syllabas, praecipue senarii atque octonarii (*In Africa fuisse* initium senarii est, primum pro Q. Ligario caput claudit; *Esse videatur*, nam nimis frequens, octonarium inchoat; talia sunt Demosthenis, *πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν*, et totum paene principium); et ultima versuum initio conveniunt orationis: *Etsi vereor, iudices*, et *Animadverti, iudices*. Sed initia initiis non conveniunt (T. Livius hexametri exordio coepit: *Facturusne operae pretium sim*; nam ita edidit, estque melius, quam quo modo emendatur), nec clausulae clausulis, ut Cicero, *Quo me vertam, nescio*; qui trimetri finis est. Trimetron et promiscue dicere liceat, sex enim pedes tres percussiones habent. Peius cludit finis hexametri, ut Brutus in epistolis: *Neque illi malunt habere tutores aut defensores, quanquam sciunt placuisse Catoni*. Illi minus sunt notabiles, quia hoc genus sermoni proximum est. Itaque et versus toti fere excidunt, quos Brutus ipso

componendi ductus studio saepissime facit, non raro Asinius, sed etiam Cicero nonnunquam, ut in principio statim orationis in Lucium Pisonem: *Pro dii immortales, quis hic illuxit dies?* Non minore autem cura vitandum est quidquid est ἔνρυθμον, quale apud Sallustium: *Falso queritur de natura sua.* Quamvis enim vincta sit, tamen soluta videri debet oratio. Atqui Plato, diligentissimus compositionis, in Timaeo prima statim parte vitare ista non potuit. Nam et initium hexametri statim invenias, et Anacreontion protinus colon efficias, et si velis trimetron, et quod duobus pedibus et parte πενθημιμέρες a Graecis dicitur, et haec omnia in tribus verbis; et Thucydidi ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν ex mollissimo rhythmorum genere excidit.

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QUINTILIAN ix. 4, §§ 59-78.

Miscendi ergo sunt, curandumque ut sint plures qui placent, et circumfusi bonis deteriores lateant. Nec vero in litteris syllabisque natura mutatur, sed refert, quae cum quaque optime coeat. Plurimum igitur auctoritatis, ut dixi, et ponderis habent longae, celeritatis breves; quae si miscentur quibusdam longis, currunt, si continuantur, exultant. Acres, quae ex brevibus ad longas insurgunt; leniores, quae a longis in breves descendunt. Optime incipitur a longis, recte aliquando a brevibus, ut *Novum crimen*; lenius a duabus, ut *Animadverti, iudices*; sed pro Cluentio recte, quod initium eius partitioni simile est, quae celeritate gaudet. Clausula quoque e longis firmissima est; sed cludent etiam breves, quamvis habeatur indifferens ultima. Neque enim ego ignoro in fine pro longa accipi brevem, quia videtur aliquid vacantis temporis ex eo quod insequitur accedere; aures tamen consulens meas, intelligo multum referre, verene longa sit quae claudit, an pro longa. Neque enim tam plenum est *Dicere incipientem timere*, quam illud *Ausus est confiteri*. Atqui si nihil refert, brevis an longa sit ultima, idem pes erit; verum nescio quo modo sedebit hoc, illud subsistet. Quo moti quidam longae ultimae tria tempora dederunt, ut illud tempus quod brevis ex longa accipit huic quoque accederet. Nec solum refert, quis claudat, etiam quis antecedit. Retrorsum autem neque plus tribus, iique si non ternas syllabas habebunt, repetendi erunt (sit tamen poetica observatio), neque minus duobus; alioqui pes erit, non numerus. Potest tamen vel unus esse dichoreus, si unus est, qui constat e duobus chorcis. Itemque paeon, qui est ex choreo et pyrrhichio, quem aptum initiis putant, vel contra, qui est

e tribus brevibus et longa, cui clausulam assignant; de quibus fere duobus scriptores huius artis loquuntur. Alii omnes, et quocunque sunt loco, temporum quod ad rationem pertinet, paeonas appellant. Est et dochmius, qui fit ex bacchio et iambo vel iambo et cretico, stabilis in clausulis et severus. Spondeus quoque, quo plurimum est Demosthenes usus, modum semper per se habet. Optime praecedet eum creticus, ut in hoc: *De qua ego nihil dicam, nisi depellendi criminis causa*. Illud est, quod supra dixi, multum referre, unone verbo sint duo pedes comprehensi an uterque liber. Sic enim fit forte *Criminis causa*; molle *Archipiratae*, mollius, si tribrachys praecedat, *facilitates, temeritates*. Est enim quoddam ipsa divisione verborum latens tempus, ut in pentametri medio spondeo, qui nisi alterius verbi fine alterius initio constat, versum non efficit. Potest, etiamsi minus bene, praeponi anapaestos: *Muliere non solum nobili verum etiam nota*. Sicut anapaestus et creticus, iambus quoque, qui est utroque syllaba minor (praecedet enim tres longas brevis), et spondeus iambo recte praeponitur: *Iisdem in armis fui*. Tum spondeus et bacchius, sic enim fiet ultimus dochmius: *In armis iisdem fui*. Ex iis quae supra probavi apparet molosson quoque clausulae convenire, dum habeat ex quocunque pede ante se brevem: *Illud scimus ubicunque sunt esse pro nobis*. Minus gravis erit spondeus, praecedente pyrrichio, ut *Iudicii Iuniani*, et adhuc peius priore paeone, ut *Brute, dubitavi*; nisi potius hoc esse volumus dactylum et bacchium. Duo spondei non fere se iungi patiuntur, quae in versu quoque notabilis clausula est, nisi cum id fieri potest ex tribus quasi membris: *Cur de perfugis nostris copias comparat is contra nos?* una syllaba, duabus, una. Ne dactylus quidem spondeo bene praeponitur, quia finem versus damnamus in fine orationis. Bacchius et claudit et sibi iungitur: *Venenum timeres*; vel choreum et spondeum ante amat: *Vt venenum timeres*. Contrarius quoque qui est, cludet, nisi si ultimam longam esse volumus, optimeque habebit ante se molosson: *Civis Romanus sum*; aut bacchium, *Quod hic potest, nos possemus*. Sed verius erit claudere choreum praecedente spondeo, nam hic potius est numerus: *Nos possemus et Romanus sum*. Claudet et dichoreus, id est idem pes sibi ipse iungetur, quo Asiani sunt usi plurimum; cuius exemplum Cicero ponit: *Patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit*. Accipiet ante se choreus et pyrrichium: *Omnes prope cives virtute, gloria, dignitate superabat*. Cludet et dactylus, nisi eum observatio ultimae creticum facit: *Muliercula*

nixus in litore. Habebit ante bene creticum et iambum, spondeum male, peius choreum. Cludit amphibrachys: *Q. Ligarium in Africa fuisse*, si non eum malumus esse bacchium. Non optimus est trochaeus, si ulla est ultima brevis; quod certe sit necesse est, alioqui quomodo cludet, qui placet plerisque, dichoreus? Illa observatione ex trochaeo fit anapaestus. Idem trochaeus praecedente longa fit paeon, quale est *Si potero* et *Dixit hoc Cicero, Obstat invidia.* Sed hunc initiis dederunt. Cludet et pyrrhichius choreo praecedente, nam sic paeon est. Sed omnes hi, qui in breves excidunt, minus erunt stabiles, nec alibi fere satis apti, quam ubi cursus orationis exigitur et clausulis non intersistitur. Creticus et initiis optimus: *Quod precatus a diis immortalibus sum*, et clausulis: *In conspectu populi Romani vomere postridie.* Apparet vero, quam bene eum praecedant vel anapaestos vel ille, qui videtur fini aptior, paeon. Sicut et se ipse sequitur: *Servare quam plurimos.* Sic melius quam choreo praecedente: *Non turpe duceret?* si ultima brevis pro longa sit; sed fingamus sic: *Non turpe duceres.* Sed hic est illud inane quod dixi. Paululum enim morae damus inter ultimum ac proximum verbum, et *turpe* illud intervallo quodam producimus; alioqui sit exultantissimum et trimetri finis: *Quis non turpe duceret?* . . . Nec ego, cum praecedentes pedes posui, legem dedi, ne alii essent; sed quid fere accideret, quid in praesentia videretur optimum, ostendi. Et quidem optime est sibi iunctus anapaestos, ut qui sit pentametri finis, vel rhythmos qui nomen ab eo traxit: *Nam ubi libido dominatur, innocentiae leve praesidium est*; nam synaloephe facit ut duae ultimae syllabae pro una sonent. Melior fiet praecedente spondeo vel bacchio, ut si idem mutes *leve innocentiae praesidium est.* Non me capit (ut a magnis viris dissentiam) paeon, qui est ex tribus brevibus et longa. Nam est et ipse una plus brevi anapaestos *facilitas* et *agilitas.*

Id. ib., §§ 91-110.

Ideoque qui horride atque incomposite quamlibet illud frigidum et inane extulerunt, antiquis se pares credunt; qui carent cultu atque sententiis, Atticis scilicet; qui praecisis conclusionibus obscuri, Sallustium atque Thucydidem superant; tristes ac ieiuni Pollionem aemulantur; otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse. Noveram quosdam, qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud caelestis huius in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausula posuissent *Esse videatur.*

Id., x. 2, §§ 17, 18.

- 10 Lege Ciceronem : compositio eius una est, pedem servat lenta et sine infamia mollis. At contra Pollionis Asinii salebrosa et exsiliens et ubi minime expectes relictura. Denique omnia apud Ciceronem desinunt, apud Pollionem cadunt exceptis paucissimis, quae ad certum modum et ad unum exemplar adstricta sunt.

SENECA, *Epistulae*, 100, § 7.

Quid de illa loquar, in qua verba differuntur et diu expectata vix ad clausulas redeunt? quid illa in exitu lenta, qualis Ciceronis est, devexa et molliter detinens nec aliter quam solet ad morem suum pedemque respondens?

Id. ib., 114, § 16.

- 11 Idem autem ille amicus noster in eiusdem M. Tullii oratione quae est de imperio Cn. Pompei ita scriptum esse a Cicerone dicebat . . . *cum vestros portus, atque eos portus quibus vitam ac spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestatem sciatis*. . . . Vt et rationem autem istam missam facias et auctoritates, sonus tamen et positura ipsa verborum satis declarat id potius ἐπιμελεία τῶν λέξεων modulamentisque orationis M. Tullii convenisse ut, quoniam utrumvis dici Latine posset, *potestatem* dicere mallet, non *potestate*. Illud enim sic compositum iucundius ad aurem completiusque, insuavius hoc imperfectiusque est, si modo ita explorata aure homo sit, non surda nec iacenti: sicuti est hercle quod *explicavit* dicere maluit quam *explicituit*, quod esse iam usitatus coeperat. Verba sunt haec ipsius ex oratione quam de imperio Cn. Pompei habuit: *testis est Sicilia quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli sed consilii celeritate explicavit*. At si *explicituit* diceret, imperfecto et debili numero verborum sonus clauderet.

GELLIUS (c. 160 A. D.) i. 7, §§ 16–20.

- 12 Optimus pes et melodis et pedestri gloriae:
Plurimum orantes decebit, quando paene in ultimo
Obtinet sedem beatam, terminet si clausulam
Dactylus spondeus imam, nec trochaeum respuo.
Bacchicos utrosque fugito, nec repellas tribrachyn.
Plenius tractatur istud arte prosa rhetorum.

TERENTIANUS MAURUS (c. 190 A. D.), *de cretico*.

- 13 Cum per totam orationem, tum praecipue in conclusionibus servandus est ordo verborum, moderate in exordio, in media parte leniter, ita ut magis ad numerum tendat quam ipsa numerosa sit. Longis syllabis incipiendum potius quam brevibus est. . . . Concludere autem aut creticus, ut una syllaba ei supersit, potest, vel duae quae spondeum vel trochaeum vel iambum pedem

faciant, aut tres quae eundem creticum gement. Cludit et paeon primus si spondeus ei supersit, et paeon posterior si una syllaba ei supersit. Nec vero ad hanc diligentiam redigimus oratorem ut in structura semper pedes singulos conspiciat et colloquet: erit enim maximi res impeditenti et tarditatis; sed exercitatione et discendo auctores optimos ad hanc eandem cursu perveniet ad quam ratio deducet. Cavendum ne omnes conclusiones eandem formam habeant, quia fastidium creabunt et studium ostentabunt. Maxime vero fugiendum est id vitium quo in oratione nihil turpius est, cum cessanti numero verba inania non rei augendae sed structurae tantummodo implendae causa subveniant. Nec numerosa sint omnia nec dissoluta; nec creticus pes saepius frequentetur.

IULIUS VICTOR (c. 400 A.D.), ch. 20.

In monosyllabis inspiciendum utrum finalis longa brevisne sit: **14** si enim longa est, praeire debet trochaeus, ut est Ciceronis *non scripta sed nata lex*. . . . Verum hoc de monosyllabo superius praeceptum in colo melius collocamus aut commate, non in fine sententiae. Dissyllaba vero iambico numero non iure clauduntur, vel si paenultimus spondeus, mox iambus aptetur, ut si dicas *tenui servos meos* aut pyrrichius pro iambo, ut *consul videt*. At bona clausula est ex iambo et spondeo vel ultimo trochaeo, ut si quis dicat *patria continet bonos cives* vel *asserat caput legis*. Cavendum est autem ne aut duo iambi aut pyrrichius in fine ponantur, ut si quis dicat *pugnare iuvenes pro parentibus suis*: cavendum etiam ne pyrrichius post pyrrichium veniat et quattuor brevis faciat, ut si quis dicat, *perdidi bona mea*, aut post pyrrichium trochaeus spondeusve, ut si dicas *conqueritur sua facta*, aut *imputat sibi demens*. Sed et trochaeus et iambus vel pro iambo post trochaeum pyrrichius malam clausulam faciunt: hoc enim finem elegiaci pentametri turpiter reddit. Quid enim interest utrum dicas *omnia nempe vides* an vero dicas *aspice facta mea*. Bene autem ponuntur vel duo trochaei vel trochaeus et spondeus in fine clausulae, ut si quis dicat *haec est bonorum civium magna cura*, aut *haec sunt quae maximi principes sola curant*. Trisyllabis clausulam terminantibus lex est si modo eam velis molliter fluere, ut trochaeo praecedente paenultimo molossus subsequatur, sive longam habeat novissimam syllabam sive brevem iure metrico, ut illud est Tullii *mare fluctuantibus, litus eiectis*. Fit enim pessima clausula, si pro trochaeo paenultimo spondeum praelocaveris, ut si dicas *mare fluctuantibus, rupes eiectis*: item pessima si pro trochaeo

pyrrichium praemiseris, ut si dicas *mare fluctuantibus, apex eiectis*. Item vitiosa est conclusio, si novissimi molossi prima syllaba brevis fiat, quamvis trochaeo rite praemisso: tunc enim heroicum comma nascitur, ut si qui dicat *litus amicis*. Item bona clausula fit si pro novissimo molosso ionicus minor ponatur post trochaeum, ut si dicas, *mare fluctuantibus, litus agitantis*. Sed in hac clausula cavendum ne pro trochaeo paenultimo spondeus ponatur: nam tunc, si solveris tertiam molossi, in vitium cadis quale incidit Cicero cum dicit *si te semel ad meas capsas admisero*. Si autem paenultimo trochaeo mediam molossi solveris, pulchram clausulam feceris, ut si dicas *litus Aemiliae*: item trochaeo paenultimo pulchre etiam tertia molossi resolvitur, ut si dicas *litus aequabile*. Item, si trochaei paenultimi longam solverimus et primam molossi ultimi, fit elegans clausula, ut est *curas regere animorum*.

MARTIANUS CAPELLA (c. 420 A.D.), §§ 36-7.

- 15 Tunc papa litteratissimus et facundus fratrem Iohannem, virum utique sapientem ac *próvidum séntiens*, ordinavit, admovit, suumque cancellarium ex intima deliberatione *constituit*, ut per eloquentiam sibi a *Dómino tráditam* antiqui leporis et *elegantiae stílum* in sede apostolica, iam pene *ómnem depérditum*, sancto dictante Spiritu, Iohannes Dei *grátia reformáret*, ac Leoninum cursum lucida *velocitate redúceret*.

PANDULFUS, *de Urbano II* (Papa 1088-99 A.D.).

- 16 In hoc dictamine litteratorio quod nec est ex toto prosaicum nec ex toto metricum sed utrumque participat omni dictione dissyllaba dicimus utendum pro spondeo, sive sit pirrtheus, ut *mare*, sive sit spondeus, ut *prebe*, sive iambus, ut *ama*, sive trochaeus, ut *Roma*. Trissyllabis qui producunt mediam pro spondeo similiter et dimidio vindicamus utendum. Ceteris vero pedibus qui consistunt ex tribus sillabis, quarum media brevis, utimur pro dactilo. Omnes dictiones tetrasyllabas et polisyllabas, scilicet quatuor sillabarum vel amplius, quarum penultima brevis, habemus pro dactilis, et omnes dictiones quatuor sillabarum vel amplius, quarum penultima longa, tenemus pro spondeis.

ANONYMUS.

- 17 Cursus est matrimonium spondeorum cum dactilis perlatione lepida celebratum. PONCIUS PROVINCIALIS (c. 1250 A.D.).
- 18 *Forma dictandi quam Romae notarios instituit magister Albertus qui et Gregorius viii papa.*

Cursus dictaminis Romanae Curiae taliter observandus est.

Si incipias versum a dictione dissiliba, bene currit dactilus post eam, ut si dicas : *Déus ómnium*. Si incipias a dictione trissilliba cuius media sit producta, bene currit post eam dactilus, ut si dicas : *Magíster militum*. Cavendum maxime tibi ne vel duos vel plures dactilos ponas continue, quia nimis sunt veloces, ut : *Négligens fámulus áliquis*. Sed plures spondeos bene poteris continuare, ut : *Fídem súam suspéctam réddít*. Si versum incipias a dactilo, pone plures spondeos post dactilum, ut : *Dóminus ét magíster nóster Ihésus Chrístus*. In medio versu post punctum — vel post metrum, ut ita dicam, melius est incipere clausulam a spondeo quam a dactilo, ut in hoc patet exemplo : *Impudícae mátris nequícia corrúmpit filiam ét vix pótest pudícam fácere quam hábuit impudíca*.

Hoc preterea notandum est quod finales dictiones semper — debet quasi pes dactilus antecurrere. Ipsa autem terminalis dictio totius versus debet esse tetrasillaba cuius penultima sillaba producat, ut hic : *ad eterna mereamur gáudia perveníre*. Vel possunt esse in fine ipsius clausulae duae dissillabae dictiones, ut : *inhumanitatis est nimiae in hominem ágere nímis dúre*. Quandoque etiam monosillaba et trissillaba dictio, dactilo precedente, finiunt versum, ita tamen quod media trissillabae sit producta, verbi gratia : *Pullos fovet et pascit volucris dum implumes videtque teneros . . . donec per se sufficient ad volátum*. Quandoque etiam duae trissillabae terminant versum, ut : *petíciones honestas ius et ratio audíri compéllunt*. Aliquando tetrasillaba cum trissillaba terminat versum, ut : *Quicquid adversus eum proposui, astruere confidénter audébo*.

GREGORIUS VIII (*Papa* 1187 A.D.).

Fit etiam cursiva locutio per tetrasillabam dictionem cuius ¹⁹ penultima corripitur, precedentis dictionis penultima acuto accentu prolata, ut : *Ille certe videtur operári iustítiam*. Quod si dictio tetrasilliba non occurrat, per precedentem monosillabam et insequentem trissillibam potest fieri dictionis tetrasillabe supplementum, ut : *tunc facta dirigéntur in éxitus*. Qui cursus ecclesiasticus appellatur. TRANSMUNDUS (*c.* 1200 A.D.).

Dum trissillabica mediam producere debet, 20
ut honéstas
 In precedenti longam penultima prebet,
ut comitétur

Πλείστων μὲν οὖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους καὶ μεγίστων ἐπαίνων 2
ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
προκινδυνεύσαντας· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου
γενομένων καὶ δυναστευσάντων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τοῦν πολέοιν δίκαιον
ἀμνημονεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προασκήσαντες τοὺς ἐπιγιγνο-
μένους καὶ τὰ πλήθη προτρέψαντες ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ χαλεποὺς
ἀνταγωνιστὰς τοῖς βαρβάροις ποιήσαντες. οὐ γὰρ ὠλιγώρου
τῶν κοινῶν, οὐδ' ἀπέλαιον μὲν ὡς ἰδίῳν, ἡμέλουν δ' ὡς ἄλλο-
τρίων, ἀλλ' ἐκήδοντο μὲν ὡς οἰκείων, ἀπείχοντο δ' ὥσπερ χρὴ
τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόντων· οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν
ἔκρινον, ἀλλ' οὗτος ἐδόκει πλοῦτον ἀσφαλέστατον κεκτῆσθαι καὶ
κάλλιστον, ὅστις τοιαῦτα τυγχάνοι πράττων, ἐξ ᾧ αὐτός τε μέλλοι
μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσειν καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μεγίστην δόξαν καταλείψειν.
οὐδὲ τὰς θρασύτητας τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐζήλουν, οὐδὲ τὰς τόλμας τὰς
αὐτῶν ἥσκουν, ἀλλὰ δεινότερον μὲν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι κακῶς ὑπὸ
τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούειν ἢ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθνήσκειν,
μᾶλλον δ' ἡσχύνοντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἰδίοις τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν. τούτων δ' ἦν αἴτιον ὅτι τοὺς
νόμους ἐσκόπουν ὅπως ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν, οὐχ οὕτω
τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων ὡς τοὺς περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην
τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἠπίσταντο γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς καλοῖς
κάγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν δεήσει πολλῶν γραμμάτων, ἀλλ'
ἀπ' ὀλίγων συνθημάτων ῥαδίως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν
κοινῶν ὁμονοήσουσιν. οὕτω δὲ πολιτικῶς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ τὰς
στάσεις ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ὑπότεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους
ἀπολέσαντες τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπότεροι φθήσονται
τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσαντες· καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας συνήγουν
οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδία συμφερόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους
ὠφελείᾳ. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διώκουν,
θεραπεύοντες ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ στρατη-
γεῖν οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννεῖν αὐτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπι-
θυμοῦντες ἡγεμόνες ἢ δεσπόται προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ σωτήρες
ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες ἀποκαλεῖσθαι, τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ προσαγόμενοι
τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' οὐ βία καταστρεφόμενοι, πιστοτέροις μὲν τοῖς
λόγοις ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὅρκοις χρώμενοι, ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ὥσπερ
ἀνάγκαις ἐμμένειν ἀξιοῦντες, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ ταῖς δυναστείαις
μέγα φρονοῦντες ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ σωφρόνως ζῆν φιλοτιμούμενοι, τὴν
αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντες γνώμην ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἥττους ἢ περὶ τοὺς
κρείττους πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, ἴδια μὲν ἄσπρη τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις
ἡγούμενοι, κοινὴν δὲ πατρίδα τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζοντες εἶναι.

ISOCRATES, *Panegyricus*, §§ 84-90.

- 3 Ὅμοιον πεποίηκας, Ἀλέξανδρε, Θήβας κατασκάψας, ὥς ἂν εἰ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκ τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν μερίδος ἐκβάλῃ τὴν σελήνην. τὸν γὰρ ἥλιον ὑπολείπομαι ταῖς Ἀθήναις. δύο γὰρ αὐταὶ πόλεις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦσαν ὄψεις. διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἀγωνιῶ νῦν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸς ἢ Θηβαίων ἐκκέκοπται πόλις.

HEGESIAS (c. 300 B.C.).

- 4 Ἐγὼ πάντων ἀγαθῶν οὐ μόνον κτήσιω βεβαιοτάτην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμισα τὴν εὐσέβειαν. τὴν αὐτὴν τε κρίσιν καὶ δυνάμεως εὐτυχούς καὶ χρήσεως μακαριστῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχον, παρ' ὅλον τε τὸν βίον ὥφθην ἅπασι βασιλείας ἐμῆς καὶ φύλακα πιστοτάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἀμίμητον ἡγούμενος τὴν ὁσιότητα, δι' ἣ καὶ κινδύνους μεγάλους παραδόξως διέφυγον καὶ πράξεων δυσελπίστων εὐμηχάνως ἐπεκράτησα καὶ βίου πολυετοῦς μακαριστῶς ἐπληρώθην.

ἐγὼ πατρώαν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν βασιλείαν μὲν ἐμοῖς ὑπήκοον θρόνοις κοινὴν θεῶν ἀπάντων εὐσεβεῖα γνώμης ἐμῆς δίαιταν ἀπέδειξα, μορφῆς μὲν ἰκόντας παντοῖα τέχνη, καθ' ἣ παλαιὸς λόγος Περσῶν τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων—ἐμοῦ γένους εὐτυχεστάτη ρίζα—παραδέδωκε, κοσμήσας, θυσίαις δὲ καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ὥς ἀρχαῖός τε νόμος καὶ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων ἔθος. ἔτι δὲ ἐμὴ δικαία φροντίς προσεξῆνυρε τιμὰς ἐπιφανῶς γεραράς.

ANTIOCHUS I OF COMMAGENE (c. 40 B.C.).

- 5 Ἐμαίνεται Καμβύσης Ἀμασιν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ, κεντῶν τε καὶ μαστιγῶν. Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ λέγουσιν Ἀμασιν ἐκ πλείονος ὑφορώμενον τὴν Καμβύσου χαλεπότητα τὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ νεκρὸν ἀποκρῦψαι, ἄλλον δὲ αὐτ' αὐτοῦ ὑποβαλεῖν καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Καμβύση περιπεσόντα. ἀλλ', ὦ Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Καμβύση, εἴτε ἄλλος ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθὼν εἴτε αὐτὸς Ἀμασις ἦν, τύπος ἦν ἀναιμος, ἄσαρκος, ἄψυχος. τοῦτον, εἴ σοι φίλον, ἔλκε καὶ σπάραττε καὶ κέντρον, Ἀμασιν δὲ οὐ κατέλιπας· ἕτερος δέ τις ζῶν, ἐμπνέων, αἰσθανόμενος, πίστευε, πείσσε', ἔφη, τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον. Ἀνάξαρχον γὰρ οὐ πείσσεις.

FAVORINUS (c. 120 A.D.), *Corinthiaca*.

- 6 Παραλλάττει δὲ ὅμως ἐς ῥυθμοὺς ἐμμέτρους τε καὶ ἀναπαύοντας οὓς εἰ φυλάσσειτο σεμνοπρεπῆς τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν δοκεῖ καὶ βεβηκῶς. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου ὃς ἀπαγορεύει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πυρὶ μὴ θάπτειν. ὑψηλὴν ἄρον, ἄνθρωπε, τὴν δᾶδα. τί βιάσῃ καὶ κατάγεις κάτω καὶ βασανίζεις τὸ πῦρ; οὐράνιον ἐστὶν, αἰθέριον ἐστὶν, πρὸς τὸ συγγένες ἔρχεται τὸ πῦρ.

οὐ κατὰγει νεκρούς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγει θεούς. ἰὼ Προμηθεῦ δαδοῦχε καὶ πυρφόρε, οἷά σου τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίζεται· νεκροῖς ἀναισθήτοις ἀναμίγνυται. ἐπάρηξον βοήθησον κλέψον, εἰ δυνατόν, κακέϊθεν τὸ πῦρ. παρεθέμην δὲ ταῦτα οὐ παραιτούμενος αὐτὸν τῶν ἀκολάστων ῥυθμῶν, ἀλλὰ διδάσκων ὅτι μηδὲ τοὺς σωφρονεστέρους ῥυθμοὺς ἡγνόει.

APOLLONIUS (c. 200 A.D.) *apud* PHILOSTRATUM, *Vitae*, p. 262.

Ὅρῳς ὡς ὑακίνθῳ μὲν τὴν κόμην ὁμοίαν ἔχει, λάμπουσι δ' ὑπὸ 7
ταῖς ὀφρύσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, καθάπερ ἐν χρυσῇ σφενδόρῃ ψηφίς;
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἐρυθίματος μεστόν, τὸ δὲ στόμα λευκῶν
ὀδόντων, ὥσπερ ἐλέφαντος. τίς ἐκεῖθεν οὐκ ἂν εὗξαιτο λαβεῖν
ἐραστῆς γλυκέα φιλήματα; εἰ δὲ νέμοντος ἡράσθην, θεοὺς ἐμι-
μησάμην. βουκόλος ἦν Ἀγχίσης καὶ ἔσχευ αὐτὸν Ἀφροδίτη.
αἶγας ἔνεμεν Βράγχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸν ἐφίλησε. ποιμὴν ἦν
Γανυμήδης καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν ὄλων βασιλεὺς ἥρπασε. μὴ κατα-
φρονῶμεν παιδός, ᾧ καὶ αἶγας ὡς ἐρώσας πειθομένας εἶδομεν.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι μένειν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπιτρέπουσι τοιοῦτον κάλλος, χάριω
ἔχωμεν τοῖς Διὸς ἀετοῖς.

LONGUS (c. 200 A.D.), *Daphnis and Chloe*, iv. 17.

Terra ipsa fertilior erat inlaborata et in usus populorum non 8
diripientium larga. Quicquid natura protulerat, id non minus
invenisse quam inventum monstrare alteri voluptas erat, nec ulli
aut superesse poterat aut deesse: inter concordēs dividebatur.
Nondum valentior imposuerat infirmiori manum. Nondum avarus
abscondendo, quod sibi iaceret, alium necessariis quoque exclu-
serat: par erat alterius ac sui cura. Arma cessabant incruen-
taeque humano sanguine manus odium omne in feras verterant.
Illi, quos aliquod nemus densum a sole protexerat, qui adversus
saevitiam hiemis aut imbris vili receptaculo tuti sub fronde vive-
bant, placidas transigebant sine suspirio noctes: sollicitudo nos
in nostra purpura versat et acerrimis excitat stimulis: at quam
mollem somnum illis dura tellus dabat! Non impendebant cae-
lata laquearia, sed in aperto iacentes sidera superlabelantur et
insigne spectaculum noctium. Mundus in praecepes agebatur
silentio tantum opus ducens. Tam interdiu illis quam nocte
patebant prospectus huius pulcherrimae domus. Libebat intueri
signa ex media caeli parte vergentia, rursus ex occulto alia sur-
gentia. Quidni iuvaret vagari inter tam late sparsa miracula?
at vos ad omnem tectorum pavetis sonum et inter picturas
vestras, si quid increpuit, fugitis attoniti.

SENECA, *Epistulae*, 90, §§ 40-3.

- 9 Refudimus Nilo suas copias ; recepit frumenta quae miserat deportatasque messes revexit. Discat igitur Aegyptus credatque experimento non alimenta se nobis, sed tributa praestare, sciat se non esse populo Romano necessariam et tamen serviat. Post haec, si volet, Nilus amet alveum suum et fluminis modum servet ; nihil hoc ad urbem ac ne ad Aegyptum quidem, nisi ut inde navigia inania et vacua et similia redeuntibus, hinc plena et onusta et qualia solent venire mittantur, conversoque munere maris hinc potius venti ferentes et brevis cursus optentur. Mirum, Caesar, videretur, si desidem Aegyptum cessantemque Nilum non sensisset urbis annona ; quae tuis opibus, tua cura usque illuc redundavit, ut simul probaretur et nos Aegypto posse et nobis Aegyptum carere non posse. Actum erat de fecundissima gente, si libera fuisset ; pudebat sterilitatis insolitae, nec minus erubescibat fame quam torquebatur, cum pariter a te necessitatibus eius pudorique subventum est. Stupebant agricolae plena horrea, quae non ipsi refersissent, quibus de campis illa subvecta messis, quave in Aegypti parte alius amnis. Ita beneficio tuo nec maligna tellus, et obsequens Nilus Aegypto quidem saepe, sed gloriae nostrae numquam largior fluxit.

PLINY, *Panegyricus*, ch. 31.

- 10 Corona multiformis variis floribus sublimem distrinxerat verticem, cuius media quidem super frontem plana rotunditas in modum speculi vel immo argumentum lunae candidum lumen emicabat. Dextra laevaue sulcis insurgentium viperarum cohibita, spicis etiam Cerealibus desuper porrectis. Multicolor, bysso tenui pertexta, nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida. Et quae longe longeque etiam meum confutabat obtutum palla nigerrima, splendescens atro nitore, quae circumcirca remeans et sub dexterum latus ad umerum laevum recurrens, umbonis vicem deiecta parte laciniae, multiplici contabulatione dependula ad ultimas oras nodulis fimbriarum decoriter confluctuabat.

Per intexam extremitatem et in ipsa eius planitie stellae dispersae coruscabant, earumque media semestris luna flammeos spirabat ignes. Quaque tamen insignis illius pallae perfluebat ambitus, individuo nexu corona totis floribus totisque constructa pomis adhaerebat. Iam gestamina longe diversa. Nam dextera quidem ferebat aereum crepitaculum, cuius per angustam laminam in modum balthei recurvatam traiectae mediae paucae virgulae, crispante brachio trigeminos iactus, reddebant argutum sonorem.

Laevae vero cymbium dependebat aureum, cuius ansulae, qua parte conspicua est, insurgebat aspis caput extollens arduum, cervicibus late tumescentibus.

APULEIUS (c. 150 A.D.), *Met.* xi, chs. 3, 4.

Sed quatenus indulgentes insano atque inepto labori ultra **II** humilitatis nostrae terminos evagamur et in terram proiectedi caelum ipsum et ipsa sidera audaci cupiditate transcendimus, vel hunc errorem saltem non vanis et formidulosis opinionibus implicemus. Sint principio omnium semina natura in se cogente densata: quis hic auctor deus? sint fortuitis concursionibus totius mundi membra coalita digesta formata: quis deus machinator? sidera licet ignis accenderit, aer caelum licet suspenderit, sua materia licet terram fundaverit pondere et mare licet confluerit e liquore: unde haec religio, unde *dei* formido? quae superstitio est? homo et animal omne, quod nascitur inspiratur attollitur, elementorum, ut volunt, varia concretio est, in quae rursum homo et animal omne dividitur solvitur dissipatur: ita in fontem refluunt et in semet revolvuntur omnia, nullo artifice renuente nec auctore. Sic consequens est congregatis ignium seminibus soles alios atque alios semper splendere, sic exalatis terrae vaporibus nebulas semper *alias* adolescere, quibus densatis coactisque nubes altius surgere, isdem labentibus pluvias fluere, flare ventos, grandines increpare vel nimbos conclidentibus tonitua mugire, rutilare fulgora, fulmina promicare; ea adeo passim cadunt, montes inruunt, arboribus incurrunt, sine dilectu tangunt loca sacra et profana, homines noxios feriunt *saepe* et *saepe* religiosos. MINUCIUS FELIX (c. 162 A.D.), §§ 6-9, ed. Bährens.

Neque enim Deus coccineas aut purpureas oves fecit aut **12** herbarum sucis et conchylliis tingere et colorare lanas docuit nec distinctis auro lapillis aut margaritis contexta serie et numerosa compage digestis monilia instituit quibus cervicem quam fecit absconderet, ut operiatur illud quod Deus in homine formavit et conspiciatur id desuper quod diabolus invenit. An vulnera inferri auribus Deus voluit, quibus innocens adhuc infantia et mali saecularis ignara crucietur, ut postea de aurium cicatricibus et cavernis pretiosa grana dependeant, gravia etsi non suo pondere, mercium tamen quantitate? Quae omnia peccatores et apostatae angeli suis artibus prodiderunt, quando ad terrena contagia devoluti a caelesti vigore cesserunt (*recesserunt Hartel*). Illi et oculos circumducto nigrore fucare et genas mendacioruboris inficere et mutare adulterinis coloribus cinem et expu-

gnare omnem oris et capitis veritatem corruptelae suae impugnatione docuerunt.

CYPRIAN (200–57 A. D.) *de habitu virginum*, § 14.

- 13 Fortunam rei publicae nostrae, cui iuxta immortales deos bellorum memoria quae feliciter gessimus gratulari licet, tranquillo orbis statu et in gremio altissimae quietis locato etiam pacis bonis, propter quam sudore largo laboratum est, disponi feliciter atque ornari decenter honestum publicum et Romana dignitas maiestasque desiderant, ut nos qui benigno favore numinum aestuantes de praeterito rapinas gentium barbararum ipsarum nationum clade compressimus, in aeternum fundatam quietem ab intestinis quoque malis saepiamus. Etenim si ea quibus nullo sibi fine proposito ardet avaritia desaeviens, qua sine respectu generis humani non annis modo vel mensibus aut diebus, set paene horis ipsisque momentis ad incrementa sui et augmenta festinant, aliqua continentiae ratio frenaret, vel si fortunae communes aequo animo perpeti possent hanc debachandi licentiam qua pessime in dies eiusmodi sorte lacerantur, dissimulandi forsitan adque reticendi relictus locus videretur, cum detestandam inmanitatem condicionemque miserandam communis animorum patientia temperaret.

Edictum Diocletiani (301 A. D.).

- 14 Ventilemus prisca monumenta, scrutemur annales: invenies vetustatem paene ignaram fluminum quae tenetis. Ipsi illi vates exoticis nominibus licenter ornati, cum ad Indicum Gangem et Borysthenen Scythicum carmen extenderint, Nigrum parem maximis ignoratione siluerunt. Nunc primum victoriis tuis externus fluvius publicatur: gaudeat servitute, captivus innotuit. Elementis quodam modo ditatam cerno rem publicam, cui omnes incogniti mancipantur, longinqua terra coniungitur. Dum orbis terminos quaeris, gentium sustulisti. Parum quiddam naturae superest quod adhuc populus Romanus inquirat. Relabi credis imperium nisi semper accesserit. Quid si impetus tuos institutio moenium non teneret? nescis transire deserta. Diligentiam iactantiae praetulisti, nam celeritas famae commoda est, munitio firmitati. Quererer, consul invicte, necdum tibi parere omnia, nisi ea quae adiuncta sunt scirem facta meliora. Consulto multa praetereo, ne in poeticos flatus rerum ingentium cothurnus erumpat. Vnum e pluribus stricta insinuatione contingam: Rhenum numquam antehac temere navigatum tumentibus aquis itinera tuta portasse.

SYMMACHUS (350–420 A. D.), *Laudatio in Valentinianum*, ii, §§ 24–6.

Διδάσκει δὲ καὶ αὐλητὴς τὸν αὐλητικὸν οὗτος προεμπνέων τῷ 15
καλάμῳ τὸ μέλος πρότερος· καὶ ὁ κιθαρωδὸς τὸν κιθαριστικὸν
αὐτὸς προπλήττων τῶν μαθανόντων τὴν φόρμιγγα. συνεφάπτε-
ται δὲ καὶ παῖς τοῦ πηδαλίου τῷ γέροντι καὶ Ἰνδῷ τοξότη τῷ
βέλους ὁ μαθάνων τὴν τέχνην ἔφηβος. αἱ δὲ ὄρνιθες οὐκ
ἐπειδὴν ἐξαγάγῃσι τῆς καλιᾶς τὰ νεόττια, ὑφαπλώσασαι τὰς
πτέρυγας, οὕτω τολμᾶν τὴν πτήσιν αὐτὰ διδάσκουσιν. οὕτω καὶ
λόγων διδάσκαλος ποιεῖ, ἵνα καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς νεῖν ἀδυνάτους
ταῖς ἑαυτῶν χερσὶν ἀνέχοντες ποιοῦσι νεῖν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς
κουφίζων τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν νέων τολμᾶν διδάσκη τὰ ῥήματα.

HIMERIUS (315-386 A.D.), *Orat.* 12, §§ 2-3.

Ταῦτ' ἄρα ἐποτυνιώμην καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπενόουν περὶ τῆς 16
συμφορᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε χρόνος αὐτὴν συνηθεστέραν ἐποίησε,
καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀντεισιῶν κατεξανίστη τοῦ πάθους, τὸ δὲ κατὰ
μικρὸν ὑπεξίστατο, ἤδη διὰ ταῦτα ῥύων ἦν καὶ ἀνέφερον. νυνὶ
δὲ ἀνθυπήνεγκεν αὐτὸ ῥεῦμα ἕτερον οὗτος αὐτὸς [ὁ Δίων] καὶ
ἐπανήκει μοι μετὰ συνηγόρου· πρὸς δύο δὲ (φησὶν ὁ λόγος) οὐδ'
Ἡρακλῆς, εἰ τοὺς Μολιωνίδας ἐκ λόχου προσπεσόντας οὐκ
ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὕδραν ἀγωνιζόμενος, τέως μὲν εἰς
ἐνὶ συνεστήκεσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καρκίνος αὐτῇ παρεγένετο, καὶ
ἀπεῖπεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν Ἰόλεω συμμαχίαν ἀντεπηγάγετο· Κἀγὼ μοι
δοκῶ παραπλήσιόν τι παθεῖν ὑπὸ Δίωνος, οὐκ ἔχων ἀδελφιδοῦν
τὸν Ἰόλεων· πάλιν οὖν ἐκλαθόμενος ἑμαντοῦ τε καὶ τῶν λογισμῶν,
ἐλεγεία ποιῶ, θρηνῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κόμῃ· σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὴ φαλακρῶν μὲν
ὁ κράτιστος εἶ, δοκεῖς δέ τις εἶναι γεννάδας, ὃς οὐδὲ ἐμπάξῃ τῆς
συμφορᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἔτνους προκειμένου μετώπων ἐξέτασις
γίνηται, σαυτὸν ἐπιλέγεις, ὥς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ δὴ τινι φιλοτιμούμενος,
οὐκοῦν ἀνάσχου τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τήρησον ἐν πείσῃ (φασὶ) τὴν
καρδίαν· ὥσπερ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς τὴν ἀναγωγίαν τῶν γυναικῶν
ἀνέκπληκτος ἔμεινε, καὶ σὺ πειρῶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τούτου παθεῖν.

SYNESIUS (c. 400 A.D.), *Encomium Calpurnii*, ch. 2.

Ἄτοπον μὲν ἴσως ἐγχείρημα δοῖται, καὶ θράσους μεστόν, εἰ γὰρ 17
ὅτε κρείττους ἔδει μοι γενέσθαι τοὺς λόγους, οἷα δὴ μείζω
τολμῶντας ἡγεμόνα κοσμεῖν, ἐλάττωρα γλώτταν ἤκω σοι φέρων,
ὀλίγου καιροῦ τὴν εὐφημίαν ἐργασαμένην· πλὴν ἐπειδὴ καὶ
βραδέως ἐκτίσω τὸν ἔπαινον, νικῶμαι τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἀρετῶν·
ἄσμενος εἶξα τῇ συντομίᾳ τοῦ χρόνου, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τάχους θηριεύων
συγγνώμην· ἤδη μὲν οὖν τις τὰ Μουσῶν ἐργαζόμενος εὐ μάλα
ποιητικῇ σειρῇνι τὸ θέατρον ἔθελεν, ἐνὶ σὺν τῶν γνωρισμάτων

ὑποτάξας τῷ μέτρῳ· οὐ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι στενοχωροῦνται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μέγα πλέουσι πέλαγος ὀλκάδες πανταχόθεν πολλαὶ καὶ φόβος οὐδεὶς μὴ λάθωσί πού τινες ἀλλήλας πιέζουσιν· οὕτως ἢ τῶν σῶν ἔργων εὐρυχωρία παντὶ δίδωσιν ἐπαινέτη τόπον ἀρκοῦντα.

CHORICIUS (c. 540 A.D.) *ad Summum*, 18.

- 18 Φαιδρὰν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν ὁρῶ καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρον, καὶ διπλοῖς ἡμᾶς καταναγάζουσιν κάλλεσι, καὶ λαμπρότησι διτταῖς καὶ φαιδρότησι λάμπουσιν, οὐχ ὥς ἡλίῳ δύο διπλοῦν ἡμῖν ὑποφαίνουσιν, καὶ οὕτω διπλαῖς περιαστράπτουσιν χάρισιν, ἀλλ' ἓνα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸν ἥλιον φέρουσιν, διπλῶς ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνατέλλοντα, καὶ διττὰς ἡμῖν τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς παρεχόμενον, καὶ ὁμοίως διττὰς τὰς πνευματικὰς εὐφροσύνας ἐντίκτοντα.

SOPHRONIUS (634 A.D.) *de Nativitate*, 19.

- 19 Ad haec imperator ira vehementi percussus, et inter exordia respondendi tumidior, increpabat verborum obiurgatorio sonu nationem omnem ut beneficiorum inmemorem et ingratam. Paulatimque lenitus et ad molliora propensior, tamquam ictus e caelo vitalique via voceque simul obstructa, suffectus igneo lumine cernebatur; erumpente subito sanguine, letali sudore perfusus, ne laberetur spectantibus et vilibus, concursu ministrorum vitae secretioris ad conclave ductus est intimum. Vbi locatus in lecto, exiguas spiritus reliquias trahens, nondum intellegendi minuto vigore, cunctos agnoscebat adstantes, quos cubicularii, nequis eum necatum suspicaretur, celeritate maxima conrogarant. Et quoniam viscerum flagrante conpage laxanda erat necessario vena, nullus inveniri potuit medicus hanc ob causam, quod eos per varia sparserat curaturos militem pestilentiae morbo temptatum. Vnus tamen repertus venam eius iterum saepiusque pungendo ne guttam quidem cruoris elicere potuit, internis nimietate calorum ambustis vel, ut quidam existimabant, arefactis ideo membris, quod meatus aliqui, quos haemorrhoidas nunc appellamus, obserati sunt gelidis frigoribus concrustati.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (333-400 A.D.), xxx. 6, §§ 3-5.

- 20 'Induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis' (Ep. ad Rom. xiii. 14). Quod si quisquam ita diceret 'et carnis providentiam ne in concupiscentiis feceritis' sine dubio aures clausula numerosiore mulceret, sed gravior interpretes etiam ordinem maluit tenere verborum. Quomodo autem hoc in Graeco eloquio sonet quo est locutus apostolus

viderint eius eloquii usque ad ista doctiores : mihi tamen quo nobis eodem verborum ordine interpretatum est, nec ibi videtur currere numerose. Sane hunc elocutionis ornatum qui numerosis fit clausulis deesse fatendum est auctoribus nostris. Quod utrum per interpretes factum sit an, quod magis arbitror, consulto illi haec plausibilia devitarint affirmare non audeo, quoniam me fateor ignorare. Illud tamen scio quod, si quisquam huius numerositatis peritus illorum clausulas eorundem numerorum lege componat, quod facillime fit mutatis quibusdam verbis quae tantum significatione valent vel mutato eorum quae invenerit ordine, nihil illorum quae velut magna in scholis grammaticorum aut rhetorum didicit illis divinis viris defuisse cognoscet.

AUGUSTIN (350-430 A. D.) *de doctr. Christ.*, iv. 20.

Salva igitur proprietate *utriusque naturae* et in unam *coeunte* **21** *persónam* suscepta est a maiestate *humilitas*, a virtute *infirmetas*, ab aeternitate *mortalitas*. Et ad resolvendum conditionis nostrae debitum natura inviolabilis naturae est *uníta passibili* : ut quod nostris *remédiis congruēbat* unus atque idem mediator *dei et hóminum* homo Iesus Christus et mori *póssset ex úno* et mori non *póssset ex áltero*.

LEO I (450 A. D.).

Verum quia super aliis que proponebantur ex parte sepe dicti **22** *Parisiensis episcopi* nobis non potuit *fieri pléna fides* causam ipsam vobis *dúximus committendam* per apostolica *scripta mandantes*. quatinus partibus ad vestram *présentiam convocátis*, si vobis constiterit *Parisiensem episcopum* possessionem parochialis iuris in predicta *parróchia habuisse* et ab ea fuisse *iniúste deiéctum*, eo, sicut iuris ordo postulat, *primitus restitúto*, audiatis quaecumque *dúxerint proponenda*, et quod istum fuerit sine appellationis *obstáculo statuátis*, facientes quod statueritis per censuram ecclesiasticam *firmiter observári*. Testes autem qui nominati fuerint, si se gratia, odio vel timóre *subtráxerint*, quominus testimonium *perhibeant veritáti*, vos ad id per distictionem ecclesiasticam appellatione *remóta cogátis* : nullis litteris obstantibus si que apparuerint preter assensum partium a Sede Apostólica *impetráte*. Quod si omnes his exequendis nequiveritis *interesse*, tu, fili, abbas Virziliacensis, cum eorum altero ea nichilóminus *exequáris*.

INNOCENT III (1199 A. D.).

O miserrima *Fesulanorum propágo* et iterum iam *puncta* **23** *barbáries* ! An parum timoris *praelibáta incútiunt* ? Omnia vos tremere *arbitror vigilantes*, quamquam spem simuletis in facie

verbóque mendáci, atque in somniis expergísci plerúmque, sive pave-
scientes infúsa praeságia, sive diurna constítia recoléntes. Verum
 si merito trepidantes insanisse *pénitet condoléntes*, ut in amaritudinem
 penitentie metus dolorisque *rívuli cónfluant*, vestris animis infi-
géndá supérsunt, quod Romane rei baiulus hic divus et trium-
phátor Henricus non sua privata sed publica mundi *cómmoda*
sítiens, ardua queque pro *nóbis aggréssus* est sua sponte penas
nóstras partícipans, tanquam ad *ípsum post Chrístum* digitum
 prophetie propheta *diréxerit Isaías*, cum spiritu dei revelánte
predíxit: 'Vere languores nostros ipse tulit et dolores nostros ipse
 portavit.' Igitur tempus amarissime penitendi vos *témere pre-*
sumptórum si dissimuláre non vúltis adesse *conspícitis*.

DANTE, in *Florentinos Epistula*.

- 24 Vestro de grege unus fui autem *mortális homuncio*, nec magnae
 admodum nec *vílis orígínis*, familia, ut de se ait Augustus *Cáesar*,
antíqua, natura quidem non iniquo, neque *invrecúndo ánimo*,
 nisi ei consuetudo *contagíosa nocuísset*. *Adolescéntia me feféllit*,
iuvénta corripuit, senecta *autéem corréxit*, experimentóque *perdócuit*
 verum illud quod diu *ánte perlégeram*: quoniam *adolescencia et*
volúptas vána sunt, imo aetatum temporumque *ómniúm cónditor*,
 qui miseros mortales de *níhilo tímidos* aberrare *sínit intérdum*,
 ut peccatorum suorum vel sero memores *sése cognóscant*.

PETRARCH.

- 25 Vidi gavisusque sum elegantissimam illam orationem ve-
 stram quam mihi dignatus fuistis vestra benignitate transmittere.
 . . . Et cum omnia mihi placeant, super omnia michi gratum
 est quod more fratrum ille sermo rhythmica lubricatione non
 ludit, non est ibi syllabarum aequalitas quae sine dinumeratione
 fieri non solet, non sunt ibi clausulae quae similiter desinant aut
 cadant. Quod a Cicerone nostro non aliter reprehenditur quam
 puerile quiddam quod minime deceat in rebus seriis vel ab homi-
 nibus qui graves sint adhiberi. Benedictus deus quod sermonem
 unum vidimus hoc fermento non contaminatum et qui legi possit
 sine concentu et effeminata consonantiae cantilena.

COLUCCIO SALUTATI.

- 26 Neque hercule mirum est si ego semper iustas omnium ami-
 citias existimavi. Non enim uni privatim ancillatus sum neque
 me addixi: sed quantum quisque rei publicae studuit, tantum
 mihi fuit aut amicus aut inimicus. Ego nihil plus volui valere
 quam pacem. Multi privatorum audacias metuerunt: ego nihil

timui nisi leges. Multi arma sua timeri voluerunt : ego nunquam volui quicquam posse nisi pro vobis. Multi ex vobis potentia freti in vos suis viribus abusi sunt. Itaque non est mirum si nullius amicitia usus sum qui non perpetuo rei publicae amicus fuit. Neque enim me paenitet si aut petenti Vatinio reo patrocinium pollicitus sum aut Sextii insolentiam repressi aut Bibuli patientiam culpavi aut virtutibus Caesaris favi. Hae enim laudes egregii civis, et unicae sunt.

PSEUDO-CICERONIS *in Sallustium*, §§ 11-12.

Nam aut de augendis vectigalibus, aut de producendis finibus, **27** deque urbibus ad imperium acquirendis aut de iungendis cum potentioribus propinquitatibus atque amicitiiis cogitabit. Quae qui animo agitat nec a molestia liber est nec alios securos ac quietos esse sinit. De avaritia vero, maxima animorum peste, nolim hoc loco disputare, quae in deside atque otiosa mente quam maxime exoritur. Eaque erectiores animos et altiores dignitatis gradus maxime sollicitat. Huic generi infimum hominum genus opponitur quod, ut nomine abiectissimum, ita re quoque omnibus calamitatibus atque angoribus est propositum. . . . Neque enim ab ea (*scil.* uxore) quicum artissimo matrimonii vinculo conglutinatus est aut mente aut cogitatione seiunctus esse potest. Itaque tot vexatus calamitatibus tantisque miseriis circumclusus hominis animus, quid egregium aut eximium suscipere aut cogitare potest? Mirum ni sese abiciat ac veluti desperatione percussus humi iaceat. PSEUDO-CICERONIS *Consolatio*.

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The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin

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PREFACE

THE first part of this paper contains an account of the mediaeval *cursus* drawn from various works, most of which are mentioned in the Bibliography to my *Fontes Prosae Numerosae* (Oxford, 1909). I have also used with profit Rockinger's collection of documents in *Quellen z. bayr. u. deutsch. Geschichte* (München, 1863), and Gabrielli's valuable dissertation, *L'epistole di Cola di Rienzo e l'epistolografia medievale* in *Archivio della R. Soc. Rom. di Storia patria*, xi (1888). I need hardly say that this portion of my paper does not claim to be more than a popular account of the results at which others have arrived, and I should not have thought of printing it but for certain suggestions about the influence of accent in earlier prose, which occurred to me when I was writing, and which, so far as I know, are new. As I wish to obtain the opinion of others upon these points, I venture to publish my paper, with a few corrections and additions.

I should like to take this opportunity of remedying a very unfortunate omission in the Bibliography previously mentioned, viz. *De clausulis Ciceronianis*, by J. Wolff, a pupil of Skutsch (1901). I was well acquainted with this very valuable work, which I have mentioned elsewhere (*Classical Review*, 1905, p. 165), and the omission was due to accident. I also regret that Bornecque's elaborate and learned work, *Les clausules métriques latines*, was unknown to me. Among other writings which have since come into my hands are Skutsch's important article on *Sprache, Metrik und Rhythmus der Römer in ihren Wechselbeziehungen* in *Zeitschrift f. d. Gymn.-Wesen*, 1909, pp. 67-74, and four works by pupils of his, viz. K. Munscher, *Die Rhythmen in Isokrates' Panegyrikos* (1908), V. Munch, *De Clausulis a Valerio Maximo adhibitis* (1909), J. Gladisch,

De Clausulis Quintilianeis (1909), and the valuable edition of Firmicus Maternus by K. Ziegler (1908). I would also mention Lehnert's exhaustive *Bericht über die rhetorische Literatur bis 1906* in Bursian's *Jahresbericht 1909 Band CXLII*.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

THE CURSUS IN MEDIAEVAL AND VULGAR LATIN

THE sophist Thrasymachus is chiefly known to us from the merciless caricatures of Plato. In the *Phaedrus* he is depicted as the 'Chalcedonian giant who can put a whole company of people into a passion and out of it again by his mighty magic: and is first-rate at inventing or disposing of any sort of calumny on any grounds or none'. In the *Republic* he appears as a mere child in the hands of Socrates, and resorts to insolence in order to cover his discomfiture. No one could suspect that he was one of the greatest inventors in the field of literature that the world has seen, who laid down the lines upon which prose was to develop for nearly two thousand years.

We learn from Cicero, whose information is drawn from Theophrastus, that Thrasymachus was the first person who deliberately introduced metrical cadences into prose for rhetorical effect. Previous writers had used such *numeri* by accident only: the pleasing result was noticed and *certi cursus conclusionesque verborum* (*Orat.* 178) now became a part of rhetorical technique. We also learn from Suidas that Thrasymachus πρώτος περίοδον καὶ κῶλον κατέδειξε καὶ τὸν νῦν τῆς ῥητορικῆς τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο. Greek writers use the term κόμμα for a section of the κῶλον. Cicero translates κόμμα by *incisum*, κῶλον by *membrum*, and περίοδος by *ambitus*, *comprehensio*, &c. There is a close connexion between this articulation of the sentence and the use of *numeri*. The theory of the period is that of a rise and a fall. Roughness is permissible as the sentence storms its way onward, but harmony must be restored at the τελευτή. Later Greek writers use the suggestive term κρότος, i.e. 'beat', for the end of the clause or sentence. The Latin word is *clausula*. Wherever the voice halts, a musical effect is required. The *numeri* coincide with the beats and reveal the secret of ancient punctuation.

The invention of Thrasymachus was supplemented by Gorgias, who introduced his well-known σχήματα, viz. ἰσόκωλα, ἀντίθετα, and ὁμοιόπρωτα. These are considered by Cicero to form a part of the

oratorical *numerus*.¹ The ῥυθμοί of Thrasymachus were combined with the σχήματα of Gorgias by Isocrates, of whom Plutarch says that he spent a lifetime on his Panegyric, pasting together antitheses and balanced clauses with similar cadences, smoothing his periods with chisels and saws and making them musical (ῥυθμίζων).² Demosthenes makes more sparing use of the σχήματα than Isocrates, in whose prose they are so constant as to become monotonous, but greatly developed the use of ῥυθμοί. Thrasymachus had relied for effect upon the paeon, a foot which was thought most suitable for prose, since it was little used in verse. Demosthenes preferred the cretic, which, as ancient writers point out, is metrically equivalent to the paeon (i.e. — ∪ — is equal to — ∪ ∪ ∪ or ∪ ∪ ∪ —). The beginning of the De Corona τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ became proverbial, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks that the proem in this, his most carefully written speech, is founded on the κρητικὸς ῥυθμός.³ He also continually uses a cretic followed by a trochee or spondee (the final syllable being regarded as *anceps* by ancient metrists) and μηδὲ τοξέη is quoted by Quintilian as an example of his *severa compositio*.⁴ Other favourite endings with him were a double trochee or double spondee. Cicero held him up as an example to those who object to the use of *numeri*, saying that his lightning was so brilliant because it was winged with numbers.⁵

Subsequent writers, especially those connected with Asia, further developed the practice of Demosthenes. The double trochee now became the favourite ῥυθμός and was used with monotonous regularity: so much so that it became characteristic of the school. The Romans adopted the use of *numeri* from Asiatic teachers before the Ciceronian era. Thus in 90 B. C. Carbo, addressing the people, said:*

Quicumque eam violassent, ab omnibus esse ei poenas persolutas.
Patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit.

Cicero notes the double trochee, *pērsōlūtās*, and says of the second double trochee, *cōmprōbāvit*:

Hoc dichoreo tantus clamor contionis excitatus est ut admirabile esset. Quaero, nonne id numerus effecerit? verborum ordinem immuta: fac sic, *comprobavit filii temeritas*, iam nihil erit.

Cicero was at great pains to set forth the theory of the subject in his *Orator*, a work dedicated to the Atticist Brutus, and intended to convert him to the use of *numeri*. While his account of the origin

¹ Orator, § 202.

² Περὶ συνθέσεως ὑπομάτων, § 204.

³ Orator, § 234.

⁴ De Gloria Athen. ch. 8.

⁵ ix. 4. 64.

^{*} ib. 214.

and object of the practice is admirable, it cannot be said that his rules are lucid. He does not appear to have grasped the secret principles by which he was guided. These were first ascertained by the patient analysis of modern scholars.

Zielinski, following in the path of previous inquirers, notably W. Meyer, Norden, and Wolff, a pupil of Skutsch, has shown that in Cicero the three favourite clausulae are

1. — ◡ — — ◡
2. — ◡ — — ◡ ◡
3. — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡

It will be noticed that the first of these is identical with the *μηδὲ τοξεύη* of Demosthenes, the second is a double cretic and is identical with *τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι*, the third consists of a double trochee preceded by a cretic as in the stock example quoted from Carbo, *filiī comprobatū*. Zielinski explains the three forms as consisting of a cretic base, followed by a trochaic cadence of varying length. It may be remarked that this is stated in so many words by Terentianus Maurus (c. 190 A.D.), who assigns to the cretic a *sedes beata* just before the end of the period, when the clausula is completed by a trochee or dactyl.

Optimus pes et melodis et pedestri gloriae:
Plurimum orantes decebit, quando paene in ultimo
Obtinet sedem beatam, terminet si clausulam
Dactylus, spondeus imam, nec trochaeum respuo.
Bacchicos utrosque fugito, nec repellas tribrachyn.
Plenius tractatur istud arte prosa rhetorum.

These three forms without any licence of any kind account for 44 per cent. of the clausulae in the speeches, 17,902 in number. He also recognizes a strong form of the base in Forms 2 and 3, viz. a molossus instead of a cretic.¹ The addition of these brings the total up to 60 per cent. Various licences are permitted, the chief of which is that any long syllable may be replaced by two shorts, e.g. *ēssē vidēātūr*. Also certain variations in the base are allowed, e.g. a choriambus or epitriton (*tr.*) in place of the cretic, as in *ēxīgūō iēmpōrē, pūblicē sūbscribītūr*; or the trochaic cadence may be prolonged by another syllable, thus creating a Form 4, e.g. *spīrītūm pērlīmēscērēm*. This accounts for another 26 per cent., raising the total to nearly 87 per cent. The remaining forms need not detain us now, with the exception of some striking cases in which, for rhetorical effect, a spondee is used in the cadence instead of a trochee, e.g. *cārcērēm cōndēmnāti*, where the light beat is replaced by a stroke from the hammer.

¹ I denote the strong forms by Roman numerals (ii, iii, &c.).

Zielinski has since been occupied in investigating the *numeri* of the colon. In a letter which I received from him a few days ago he tells me that he has now gone through the speeches and tabulated the cola, 130,000 in number, and hopes soon to publish important conclusions. Meanwhile the general theory is clear from a passage in Quintilian (ix. 4. 70), who points out that some clausulae are halting and limp, if left to themselves, but are propped up by the context. He quotes

‘Non vult populus Romanus obsoletis criminibus accusari Verrem,’
durum si desinas, sed cum continuatum sit iis quae sequuntur . . .
‘nova postulat, inaudita desiderat,’ salvus est cursus.

The harsh *numeri* are comparatively frequent in the cola, while harmony is restored in the clausula. It may be noticed that the period frequently falls into strophes, recalling the measures of lyric poetry, which, curiously enough, Latin writers considered not to have a strict metrical system. This arrangement by strophes enables us to express by symbols what Cicero termed *concininitas*.

Cicero's system is uniform throughout his writings, with the exception of the letters to Atticus. Many of the letters *ad Familiares* are just as metrical as his speeches. The *Commentariolum Petitionis* ascribed to Quintus is written in the same style. The strict Atticists of his day, Sallust and Caesar, do not resort to *numeri*, and Brutus was not convinced by the *Orator*, which Cicero dedicated to him (Att. xiv. 20. 4). It is interesting to notice that the Letters of Brutus, the genuineness of which has been doubted, are not metrical. Among subsequent writers I find no use of *numeri* in Cornelius Nepos. The practice of Livy is exactly opposite to that of Cicero. He shows a marked partiality for the forms which are least common in Cicero, notably for the spondaic ending. In this connexion Cicero has an illuminating remark (Orat. 212), ‘*cursum contentiones magis requirunt, expositiones rerum tarditatem*,’ i.e. History prefers a spondaic measure. The *compositio* of Tacitus was intentionally harsh. He was the Wagner among Roman composers and produced music out of discords. With these few exceptions, and some technical works for which such ornament was unsuitable, all subsequent Latin authors were possessed by the spell.

Just as the later Greek authors tend to monotony, as compared with the free measures of Demosthenes, so in Latin the tendency is to uniformity of type. This is already visible in the prose of Cicero. Zielinski points out that in the early speeches the molossus base, in Forms 2 and 3, is almost as frequent as the cretic, while in the later

speeches the cretic is considerably more frequent. Quintilian actually includes the strong form of 2 among the bad clausulae (ix. 4. 104), and it is notably rare in the younger Pliny. So in the fifth century Martianus Capella speaks of the *vitium* in Cicero's ending *ad meas capsas admisero* (Div. in Caec. 51). The highly metrical prose of such writers as Minucius Felix (c. 162), St. Cyprian (200-57), and Symmachus (350-420) recognizes few *numeri* except Forms 1, 2, 3 (the cretic base in 2 and 3 being predominant), a Form 4, and the *esse videatur* clausula (1²). These are used in all the cola as well as in the clausula proper, the effect being very monotonous.

The excess to which these writers carried the use of *numeri* may be seen from a passage in Symmachus (*in Valent.* ii. § 24-6). I add in brackets the symbols employed by Zielinski:—

Ventilemus priscā mōnūmētā (1²), scrutēmūr ānnālēs (1): invenies vetustatem paene ignaram flūmīnū quāe tēnētis (3). Ipsi illi vates exoticis nominibus licētēr ōrnātī (1), cum ad Indicum Gangen et Borysthenen Scythicum cārmēn ēxtēndērīnt (2), Nigrum parem maximis ignoratiōē sīlūērūnt (1²). Nunc primum victoriis tuis externūs flūvīūs pūblicātūr (3 *tr.*): gāudēāt sērvītūtē (3), captīvūs innōtūt (2). Elementis quodam modo ditatam cernō rēmpūblicām (2), cui omnes incōgnīti māncīpāntūr (3), longinqua tērrā cōniūngītūr (2). Dum orbis tērmīnōs quāerīs (1), gēntiūm sūstūlistī (3). Parum quiddam naturae superest quod adhuc populus Romānūs īnquirāt (1). Relabi credis imperium nisi sēmpēr accēssērīt (2). Quid si impetus tuos institutio mōenlūm nōn tēnērēt (3)? nescis transirē dēsērtā (1).

We are in presence of a phenomenon similar to that by which the Greek Hexameter tends to become more and more dactylic in character. The luxuriance of Homer gradually dries up and finally in Nonnus (c. 500 A. D.) we find that 25,000 verses yield only nine types of hexameter, while 35 per cent. of his lines consist of dactyls only.

Sidonius Apollinaris (c. 431-82), Bishop of Auvergne, carried on the tradition of Symmachus, whose *rotunditas* he praises and sets before himself as a model. The prosody of these accomplished men is correct, as is to be expected in persons of their culture. The only deviation which Symmachus makes in the passage quoted above from the prosody of Cicero is that he appears to scan *cernō*. Other writers long before this time wrote in a very different style. Foreigners and barbarians found it extremely difficult to master the quantity of Latin vowels. On the other hand the theory of the Latin accent is very simple, the chief point being that words in which the penultimate is long are

paroxytone, e.g. *perfrégit*, and those in which it is short are proparoxytone, e.g. *víncula* (Orator, § 58, Quintil. i. 5. 29). We soon find strange scansions, such as those of the Spaniard Juvenus (c. 330), who has *lāborum*, *lāticibus*, *fūturum*, and ends the hexameter with, e.g., *præsentat*, *‘Aegypti*, &c. Still earlier we have the astonishing hexameters of the Syrian Commodianus (c. 238), who begins his *Instructiones* with

Prima præfatio nostra viam errantī dēmonstrat
Respectatque boni cum venerīt seculī metra.

The first line of his *Apologeticum* is

Quis poterīt unum proprie deūm nosse cǽlorum?

Teuffel says of him that ‘his hexameters in defiance of metre and prosody merely follow the ear and the accentuation of every-day pronunciation’.

It is only natural that the prosody of prose-writers should exhibit similar defects. In order to appreciate this point it is necessary to consider the relation of accent to ictus in the clausula. In Cicero these as a rule coincide, as in—

- (1) $\acute{\text{—}} \cup - \acute{\text{—}} \cup$, e.g. *víncula perfrégit*.
- (2) $\acute{\text{—}} \cup - \acute{\text{—}} \cup \text{—}$, e.g. *víncula perfrégerat*.
- (3) $\acute{\text{—}} \cup - \text{—} \cup \acute{\text{—}} \cup$, e.g. *vínculum frègerámus*.

It will be observed that in the last instance I have placed a minor accent over the first syllable of *fregeramus*. This is in conformity with all modern writers, who show that long words cannot be pronounced without the help of minor accents. (Cf. Lindsay’s *Latin Language*, p. 161.)

While agreement is normal, there are certain cases in which there is a conflict, as in Zielinski’s second Form where a molossus is base and there is no caesura, e.g. *vincéntem frégerat*, or when the clausula ends with an iambic dissyllable. It is doubtless due to the tug of the accent that Martianus Capella censures Cicero’s ending *consul videt* (Cat. 1. 2).

The result of the enfeeblement of quantity and the stress of the accent was to produce what some writers have called a *cursus mixtus*, a very convenient term which means that some of the clausulae are metrical, while others follow the accent without regard to the quantity. All that is necessary is to have the accents in the right place. The result is that the metrical prose of St. Cyprian, Symmachus, and Sidonius gives way to accentual or rhythmical prose. Form 1 is succeeded by a rhythmical equivalent consisting of five syllables, e.g.

génus humanum, Form 2 to one of six, e.g. *bóna remédia*, and Form 3 to one of seven, e.g. *fáciunt mèritórum*. We also find accentual equivalents for other metrical clausulae, e.g. *víctor reditúrus = èssè vīdēātūr* (1²), and (*excell*)*éntiae véstrae scribere = òptimò iūrè cōntigít* (4).

This mixture of metre and rhythm is found in various writers during the latter half of the fourth century. Some of these are Pagans, e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus and Vegetius, others Christian, e.g. St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine.

I quote the following specimen from St. Jerome (A.D. 331-420), Epistles xxiii. I mark the clausulae by accents, except in the case of two, viz. *angelorum choris* and *palmatum consulem*, which are metrical, and do not give a clausula by the other method. In several cases accent and metre agree, others are purely accentual.

Nunc igitur pro brevi labore aeterna beatitúdine frúitur (2), excipitur àngelòrùm chōrīs (2), Abrahæ sínibus cōnfovétur (3) et cum páupere quóndam Lázaro (4), dívitem pùrpurátum (3), et non pàlmātum cōnsülēm (ii) sed atratum stillam digiti minoris cérnit inquírrere (2). O quanta rerum mutátio (2)! Ille qui ante paucos dies dignitatum omnia cúlmina pràecedébat (3), qui quasi de subiectis hóstibus triumpháret (3), Capitólínas ascéndit árces (3), quem plausu quondam et tripudio populus Románus excépit (1), nunc desolátus et núdus (1) non in lacteo cáeli palátio (2), ut uxor mentístur infélíx (1), sed in sordentibus ténebris cōtinétur (3).

I do not find any systematic use of *clausulae* in his translation of the New Testament.

St. Augustine (350-430) says of his own practice 'ego in méo elóquio (2) quantum modeste fferi árbitor (2) non praetermitto istos números clàusulárum' (3). In another passage, when commenting upon the Epistle to the Romans xiii. 14, he says that if the Latin translator had stooped to such artifices he could have produced a *clausula numerosior*, but that he preferred to keep the order of the original. In the course of his remarks, he mingles rhythmical forms, e.g. *locútus apóstolus* (2), *cúrrere nùmeróse* (3), with metrical, e.g. *légè cōmpōnát* (1), *affirmārè nòn aūdēō* (2).

The prose of the Syrian Ammianus Marcellinus (330-400) is much more accentual than that of Jerome, as the following specimen will show (xvii. 5. 3):—

Rex regum Sapor párticeps síderum (2), frater Sólis et Lúnæ (1), Constantio Cáesari frátri méo (3) salutem plúrimam díco (1). Gaudeo tandemque mihi placet ad optimam vlam te rēvertísse (3)

et incorruptum aequitatis agnovisse suffragium (2) rebus ipsis expértum (1), pertinax aliéni cupiditas (2) quas aliquotiens edíderit stráges (1). Quia igitur veritátis orátio (2) soluta esse débet et líbera (2) et celsióres fortúnas (1) idem loqui decet átque sentíre (1), propositum méum in paúca cónferam (4), reminiscens haec quae dicturus sum me sáepius rëplicásse (3). Ad usque Strýmona flúmen (1) et Macedónicos fínes (1) tenuísse maióres méos (3) antiquitates quoque véstrae testántur (1), haec me cónvenit flàgitáre (3), ne sit ádrogans quòd adfírmò (3), splendore virtutumque insígnium série (2) vetustis régibus àntistántem (3).

The Sermons of Leo I (Pope 450 A.D.) are rhythmical: so also is the Leonine Sacramentary, which, whatever its authorship, is of great interest as the oldest collection of this kind. This may be seen from one of the first Collects:—

Tuas enim Domine virtutes tuasque victórias àdmirámur (3), quoties in Ecclésia Túa (1) horum dierum fésta celebrántur (1²), quos insignes confessórum tuórum (1) et mártýrum pálmæ (1) ad perén-nem memóriam (2) solemnémque laetftiam (2) fidelibus pópulis sàcra-vérunt (3).

The prose of Boethius (480–524) seems to me of special interest. His theological writings are in the usual *cursus mixtus*. Thus in the *de Trinitate* I find such endings as *númerum fàcit* (1), *pluralitatémque perficere* (2), *fàciunt mèritórum* (3), *unitátum repetitio* (2²). On the other hand his *Philosophiae Consolatio*, where he is modelling himself upon Cicero, is metrical. This is interesting as showing that it was possible for one writer to use both methods. The metrical clausulae predominate in the *Mythologicon* of Fulgentius (480–550), but I find accentual endings such as *cítius òbitúrum* (3), *collégio nón donétur* (3). Cassiodorus (480–575) writes in a *cursus mixtus* complicated by assonance and rhyme. Gregory of Tours (538–594) writes accentual prose in which the metrical element is recognizable.

The letters of Gregory the Great (540–604) are considered to mark the full development of this mixed style. I quote the following specimen (1. 10):—

Supplicaverunt nobis Hebraei Tarracínae degéntes (1) ut locum quem synagogae háctenus hàbuérunt (3), eum illis nostra quoque auctoritate esset habéndi licéntia (2). Sed quia pervenit ad nos quod locus ipse sic vicinus ésset ecclésiae (2) ut etiam ad eam vox psalléntium pèrvenfret (3), scripsimus fratri et coepíscopo nóstro Pétro (3) ut si esset ut vox de eodem loco in ecclésiám rësonáret (3), Iudaeorum celebratióibus privarétur (3).

Various writings of this period, e.g. the Sermons of St. Innocent I, St. Boniface, and St. Gaudentius, the *Professio Fidei* of Bachiarus Monachus, &c., are equally rhythmical.

It is the opinion of the specialists who have worked upon this branch of the subject that rhythm in prose fell into abeyance about this time. Thus the Benedictines of Solesmes say that '*à partir de saint Grégoire le Grand le rythme semble s'exiler pour quatre siècles de la prose littéraire*'. The statement is one of great importance for liturgical students, since it enables them to fix the date of old rhythmical texts. I have not attempted to check it, since this would involve much labour, and I feel that the question should be left to experts. I would only remark that a Decree passed at the Synod of Toledo in 653, some fifty years after the death of Gregory, is quoted by W. Meyer as an example of accentual prose. Also, I should have thought it likely that the old tradition would survive in some places. As we shall see shortly, it was revived four centuries later by teachers proceeding from Monte Cassino, and I should have thought it more likely that the art had lingered on there, than that it had been wholly lost. If once forgotten, it would in all probability have been lost for ever. I also notice in the letters of Servatus Lupus, who was educated at Fulda and was Abbot of Ferrières from 841 to his death about twenty years later, a *cursus* which I cannot distinguish from that current in the seventh century. I quote the beginning of his first letter:—

Diu cunctatus sum desideratissime hóminum (2), auderem necne excelléntiae véstrae scríbere (4). Et cum me ab hoc officio aliae rationábiles caúsae (1), tum etiam eo máxime détérrebat (3), quod posse id contíngere vídebátur (3), ut, dum vestram cuperem amicitiam cómparäre (3), offénsam incúrrerem (2). Scilicet quod praepropero et inúsitátō pròrsus órdínē (iv *tr.*) ab ipso familiaritatis múnere inchoáverim (4), qui nec primordia notístiae cóntigíssem (3).

Here all the clausulae appear to be accentual with a single exception, which, however, admits of a metrical explanation, being identical with a variety of Zielinski's Form 4 (i.e. an epitriton — ∪ — — is admitted into the base in place of a molossus). I should, therefore, like to see some further discussion of this point.

We now pass on to the revival of the *cursus* in the eleventh century, when it was adopted by the Roman Curia and was the subject of elaborate rules. The prose of this period was largely epistolary. By this I mean not merely private letters, but elaborate and courtly compositions sent to ecclesiastical dignitaries, and diplomatic documents proceeding from the Papal Chancery. The usual term for such com-

positions was *dictamen*, writers were called *dictatores*, their art was known as *ars dictatoria*, and handbooks giving the rules were styled *summa dictaminis*. These treatises dealt with a variety of subjects, e.g. the proper method of addressing a correspondent, the choice of subjects and their arrangement, rules for the *exordium*, *narratio*, *conclusio*, and general information of an encyclopaedic character. The *dictatores* were very long-winded: thus a usual phrase for 'listen' is *vestrae probitatis agnoscat discretio*. They also use words *sola ornatus et bonae sonoritatis causa*. The Pope is to address various persons according to their status. To ordinary persons he sends *salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*, to the excommunicated he says *spiritum consilii sanióris*, to Jews and heretics *viam agnóscere veritátis*. Rules for the rhythmical order are given in several of these works, and the terms *cursus planus*, *tardus*, *velox*, corresponding to Forms 1, 2, 3, come into use. It may be observed that '*planus*' is used in the sense of 'ordinary', just as *cantus planus* denotes plain song in the liturgy as opposed to elaborate compositions.

The first work on the *Ars dictandi* was the *Breviarium de dictamine* of Albericus, written at Monte Cassino (1075-1110). He does not give rules for the *cursus*, but employs it throughout, and says that prose should be *sonoram et distinctam, id est quasi currentem*.

When Urban II was elected Pope in 1088 he went to Monte Cassino, where Albericus was teaching, and chose as his secretary Johannes Caietanus in order that

antiqui leporis et elegantiae stylum in sede apostolica iam pene omnem deperditum sancto dictante spiritu Iohannes Dei gratia reformáret ac leoninum cursum lucida velocitate reduceret.

The phrase Leonine has here been interpreted as meaning in the style of Leo the Great, but more probably it refers to the rhythmical nature of the prose in question. Thus another writer uses the word as a synonym for *consonantia*.

Caietanus subsequently became Pope in 1118 under the name of Gelasius II. The *cursus* is found fully developed in his own letters as well as those which he had written for Urban II, and was adopted by his successors. The rules were published by Albertus de Morra, who became Pope in 1187 under the name of Gregory VIII. From this time onwards the term *stylus Gregorianus* is used to denote that used by the notaries of the Curia.

Gregory VIII adopts the mediaeval view that every dissyllable, whatever its quantity, is a spondee, e.g. *măřě*, *prăebě*, *ămă*, *Rômă* are

equivalents. A trisyllable, if paroxytone, e.g. *timóris*, is a spondee and a half, if proparoxytone, e.g. *négligens* or *fámulus*, is a dactyl. A long word like *èxcommùnicàtionis* consists of four spondees. Rules are given for the composition of a sentence. It is best to begin with a spondee followed by a dactyl, e.g. *Déus ómnium*. It is allowable to employ continuous spondees, but not dactyls, e.g. *négligens fámulus áliquis*, since this makes the movement too rapid. The last word in the sentence should be preceded by a dactyl, e.g. *gáudia pèrveníre*, a canon which is obviously identical with the rule of Terentianus Maurus, who gives that place to the cretic, the quantitative predecessor of the dactyl, e.g. *gáudium pèrveníre*. The examples given by Gregory belong to the *cursus planus* and *velox*. Rules for the *cursus tardus* are added by his contemporary Transmundus, Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Church.

A large number of treatises based on that of Albericus were composed in Italy and elsewhere. Hugo of Bologna (c. 1124) replies to those who *Alberici monachi viri eloquentissimi librum viciant*, probably referring to Albertus of Samaria and others who denounced those 'scholasticos seu grammaticos dictatores qui dictamina more metrorum seu rithmorum cursitare sive claudicare coegerunt'. Bonum of Florence (c. 1210) wrote a work called *Candelabrum*, the object of which was to give *populo dudum in tenebris ambulanti lucidissimam dicendi peritiam*. Boncampagnus, also of Florence (c. 1220), wrote an encyclopaedic work, the various books of which had fanciful names such as *Oliua*, *Cedrus*, *Myrra*, *Rota Veneris*. Thomas of Capua, Chancellor to Gregory IX (1227-41), wrote a *Summa dictaminis secundum Curiam Romanam*. A minor work by Galfridus de Vino Salvo deserves mention for his verses modelled on the beginning of the first Georgic:—

vobis referam quo sidere vestrum
dictamen lucere queat, quo clausula possit
lascivire gradu.

They found imitators in other countries. Thus in Germany we have the *Saxonica summa prosarum dictaminis*, in which we are told *praecipua sit industria dictaturo ut stilum qui Romanus dicitur teneat et observet*. Ludolphus of Hildesheim gives mnemonic rules for the three forms of the *cursus*. Conradus of Mure *de arte prosandi* distinguishes prose from verse in the following lines:—

Vultque venire metrum tanquam domicellula compto
Crine, nitente gena, subtili corpore, forma
Egregia.
Prosaicus versus, res grossior.

The Gallican Church had the audacity to develop a rival school to the Roman, viz. that of Orleans. We have an *Ars dictandi Aurelianensis* with letters for the use of Bishops of Orleans, and Poncius Provincialis (1200-50), who lived at Orleans, is a writer belonging to this school. The Italian *dictatores* carried on a fierce polemic against their brothers of Orleans. Boncompagnus wrote, he tells us, in order that *viri scholastici per falsam et superstitiosam Aurelianensium, id est Gallicorum, sententiam, tanquam naufragantes . . . formam Sanctorum Patrum, Curiae Romanae et imperialis aulae stilum prosaico dictamine studerent imitari*. Thomas of Capua speaks in similar terms. I do not profess to have grasped the exact points where the Orleans school fell into heresy. Bonum of Florence says, *sed hoc aliter ab Aurelianensibus, aliter a sede Apostolica observantur. Aurelianenses enim ordinant dictiones per ymaginarios dactylos et spondeos. . . . Nos verum secundum auctoritatem Romanae Curiae procedemus quia stylus eius cunctis planior invenitur*. This, however, is not at all clear, since we find that Gregory VIII founds his *Forma dictandi* upon imaginary spondees and dactyls. I should suspect that the differences were invisible except to contemporary experts, whose acuteness may be seen from a reply of Innocent III (Pope 1198-1216):—

Litteris ipsis diligenter inspectis ipsi rescripsimus eas tam ex dictamine quam quod a stylo cancellariae nostrae discrepant omnino falsas esse.

Probably there was some professional jealousy in the matter. We find scribes from Orleans exercising their art in Rome itself: thus a Johannes Aurelianensis was Secretary to Alexander III (Pope 1159-81), and the Italian *dictatores* may have objected to the 'dumping' of foreign goods on their market. Also there was the perpetual friction between the Gallican Church and the Papacy.

One of the most interesting writers of this period is Johannes Anglicus, who wrote in Paris (c. 1270). There seems to me no reason for connecting him with the school of Orleans, since there was a feud between it and the University of Paris. He distinguishes between three kinds of *stylus*, viz. *Gregorianus*, *Isidorianus*, and *Hilarianus*. Of the first he says '*in hoc stilo considerantur pedes spondei et dactili, id est pedes cadentes ad modum spondeorum et dactilorum. In stilo Tulliano non est observanda pedum cadentia set dictionum et sententiarum coloratio*'. The *stylus Isidorianus* is said to be based on the Soliloquies of Isidore, in which the clausulae correspond *secundum*

leoninitatem vel consonantiam. This style, he says, is *valde motivus ad pietatem*, i. e. useful for sermons. He gives as an example

prius legunt quam sillabicent, prius volant quam humi currant. . . . Prius montes scandunt quadrivii quam per valles incedunt trivii, volant ad astra nec pennas possident.

This series of balanced antitheses reminds us of the σχήματα of Gorgias. It is singular to find the methods of the great Sicilian suddenly revived in the thirteenth century.

The *stylus Hilarianus* is so called as modelled on the hymn ascribed to Hilary:—

Primo dierum omnium
Quo mundus exstat conditus.

In this each verse consists of four iambics, or, as Johannes Anglicus scans it, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ spondees and a dactyl. He gives as an example a letter to be sent to the Archbishop of Paris by an Archdeacon who failed to attend a synod. This runs as follows:—

Cum essem in itinere, tendens ad vestram sínodum, caput meum infirmitas oppressit ita súbito, quod despero resúrgere portumque vitae tángere, nisi Dei cleméntia me visitare márcidum condignetur. Quare pater mílissime, vestra dignetur grátia infirmo mihi cómpati meque languentem hábeat excusatum.

How different from the laconic excuses with which we are now so familiar!

The orthodox *stylus Gregorianus* became universal in Papal Bulls, letters, privileges, dispensations, indulgences, and excommunications. It was used in sermons, prayers, collects, chants, and graces. We also find it in non-ecclesiastical literature, as I shall show shortly.

Before passing on to other subjects it will be convenient here to state the definitions of the *cursus* given by mediaeval theorists and to explain the terminology employed by them.

Gregory does not himself employ the terms *planus*, *tardus*, *velox*, but gives examples which fall under the *planus* and *velox*. Transmundus speaks of three kinds, viz. *planus*, *velox*, and *ecclesiasticus*. The last of these was styled *tardus* by his successors. The examples given by Gregory which belong to the *cursus planus* are *audiri compellunt* and *confidénter audébo*: those which fall under the *velox* are, *gaúdia pervenire, ágere nímis dúre, sufficiant ad volátum*. His general theory is that 'finales dictiones semper debet quasi pes dactylus antecurrere'. It will be noticed that this exactly corresponds to the statement of Terentianus Maurus about the *sedes beata* assigned 'paene in

ultimo to the cretic. He explains *gaúdia pervenire* as a dactyl followed by a paroxytone tetrasyllable, which may be replaced by two dissyllables (*nímis dúre*)¹ or a monosyllable and paroxytone trisyllable (*ad volátum*). Transmundus gives as examples of the *ecclesiasticus* or *tardus* the forms *operári iustítiam dirigéntur in éxitus*. These he explains as a tetrasyllable (or monosyllable and trisyllable) with a proparoxytone accent preceded by a word with a paroxytone accent. Gregory's account of the two forms which belong to the *planus*, viz. *audíri compéllunt, confidénter audébo*, is somewhat confusing. He explains these as a final trisyllable (without mentioning that this is paroxytone) preceded by a trisyllable or tetrasyllable. As a matter of fact, however, the number of syllables in the preceding word is not the determining point, but the paroxytone accent. Thus *nómen assúmens, sínit intérdum* equally belong to the *cursus planus*.

Recent writers have noticed other forms to which the *dictatores* did not give names. GrosPELLIER² mentions the following, which he describes in terms modelled upon mediaeval theory:—

- (1) tr. = trispondaicus, e. g. *dóna sentiámus*.
- (2) dd. = dispondeus dactylicus, e. g. *virtútis operátio*.
- (3) o. = octosyllabicus, e. g. *flétibus supplicántium*.
- (4) m. = medius, e. g. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{iúgiter póstulat,} \\ \text{précibus nóstris,} \\ \text{fovémur méritis.} \end{array} \right.$

The mediaeval method seems to me very cumbrous and it has led to much misconception. The results can be stated more clearly by the help of the symbols which Zielinski has invented for the metrical clausula out of which the accentual is developed. He considers the Form as a metrical whole and distinguishes the types by means of the caesura. Thus Form 1 (— ∪ — — ∪) has five possible types, viz. *iudicabatur, non oportere, morte vicistis, civitas possit, restitutus sit*, which he terms 1 α, 1 β, 1 γ, 1 δ, 1 ε. The other Forms he treats in the same way. Some types are much more frequent than others. His statistics show that in Cicero γ is the favourite type of Forms 1 and 2, while δ is characteristic of 3. In the middle ages these types have become predominant. The *cursus planus*, e. g. *sínit intérdum*, is identical with 1 γ, the *tardus*, e. g. *crúcis affíxio*, with 2 γ, and the *velox*, e. g. *gaúdia pervenire*, with 3 δ.

If we apply this method to the less frequent types collected by GrosPELLIER, the first of these, *dóna sentiámus*, is identical with Cicero's

¹ This form contravenes Meyer's law (p. 22). ² Santi, Il 'Cursus', pp. 25-26.

ēssē vidēātūr, which indeed GrosPELLIER quotes among his examples of this type. This is Zielinski's $1^2\gamma$ (i. e. the second long syllable in Form 1 is replaced by two shorts). So *virtūtis operatio* corresponds to *ēssē vidēāminī*, i. e. $2^2\gamma$: *flētibus supplicāntium* is metrically as well as accentually identical with Zielinski's Form 4 (— ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ —). The three varieties of the so-called *medius cursus* belong to the δ type. Thus *iūgiter pōstulat* = *cāllidē fēcērīt*, i. e. 2δ , *prēcibus nōstris* = *cīvītās pōssīt*, i. e. 1δ , while *fovemur mēritis* appears to correspond to *crēdātis pōstūlō*, i. e. $ii\delta$ (I denote the 'strong' variety of Forms 2 and 3, i. e. with molossus base, by Roman numerals).

We are now in a position to draw up a list of endings permissible in the *cursus* of this period, which will, I think, be more intelligible, viz. :—

1γ e. g. audīri compēllunt (*planus*).

$1^2\gamma$ e. g. dōna sentiāmus.

1δ e. g. prēcibus nōstris.

2γ e. g. operāri iustītiā (*tardus*).

$2^2\gamma$ e. g. virtūtis operatio.

2δ e. g. iūgiter pōstulat.

$ii\delta$ e. g. fovemur mēritis.

3δ e. g. gāudia pervenīre (*velox*).

4δ e. g. flētibus supplicāntium.

The variety of the *tardus* given by Transmundus, viz. *dirigēntur in exitus*, has a minor caesura, and is strictly $2\gamma\delta$, but of course *in exitus* is treated as one word. So the varieties of the *velox*, viz. *sufficient ad volātum* (where the same explanation applies) and *āgere nīmis dūre*, are strictly $3\delta\epsilon$ and $3\delta\zeta$. The presence of the δ division is the important point.

I do not wish to imply that the *cursus* was always employed strictly according to the rules laid down by the *notarii* of the Roman Curia. It is, however, unmistakably present in a vast body of literature such as the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury (1110–1180), the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), and the correspondence of Héloïse and Abelard. I add an extract from a letter of Héloïse :—

Cum me ad temporales olim voluptates expēteres (2), crebris me epistolis visitābas (3), frequenti carmine tuam in ore omnium Holoisam ponēbas (1). Me plateae omnes, me domus singulae rēsonabānt (3). Quanto autem rectius me nunc in Deum quam tum in libidinem excitāres (3). Perpende, quāeso, quae dēbes (1), attēnde quae pōstulo (2) et longam epistolam brevī fine concludo (1).

The style of sermons may be illustrated by St. Bernard of Clairvaux :

Quam gloriosi revertuntur victóres de praélio (2). Quam beati moriuntur martýres in praélio (2). Gaude, fórtis athléta (1), si vivis et víncis in Dómino (2). Vita quidem fructuosa et victória glòriosa (3), sed utrique mors sacra iúre praepónitur (2). Nam si beati qui in Dómino mòriúntur (3) non multi magis qui pro Dómino mòriúntur (3) ?

It is stated by the experts who have worked upon this subject that the *cursus* began to decline under Nicholas IV (1288-92) and that it disappeared from Bulls in the fourteenth century, except in the case of formulae which were reproduced from earlier documents. This, again, is an assertion which I must take on trust, since I have no time in which to verify it. In any case the *cursus* survived in literature in its most exact form, e.g. in the Latin works of Dante (1265-1321), the letters of Petrarch (1304-1374), those of his friend Cola di Rienzo, and the letters and *de Mulieribus Claris* of Boccacio. I cannot refrain from quoting the famous letter of Dante to the Florentines, which derives additional interest from the fact that W. Meyer has made a certain correction in the text upon rhythmical grounds :—

O miserrima Faesulanórum propágo (1) et iterum iam puníta barbáries (2). An parum timoris praelibáta incútiunt (2)? Omnia vos tremere árbitror vigilántes (3), quamquam spem simuletis in facie verbóque mendáci (1), atque in somniis expergísci plerúmque (1), sive pavescentes infúsa praeságia (2), sive diurna consília rècoléntes (3). Verum si mérito trèpidántes (3) insanisse pénitet còndoléntes (3), ut in amaritúdinem péniténtiae (4) metus dolorisque rívoli cónfluant (2), vestris animis infigénda supérsunt (1) quod Romane rei baiulus hic divus et triumphátor Henrícus (1) non sua privata sed publica mundi cómmoda sítuens (2), ardua queque pro nóbis aggréssus est (2) sua sponte penas nóstras partícipans (2), tanquam ad ípsam post Chrístum (1) dígitum pròphetíe (3) propheta diréxerit Ìsaías (3) cum spiritu dei revelánte predíxit (1), ‘vere languores nostros ipse tulit et dolores nostros ípse portávit’ (1). Igitur tempus amaríssime pèniténdi (3) vos témere prèsumptórum (3), si dissimuláre non vúltis (1), adéssè conspícitis (2).

Punica barbaries was formerly printed in the first line. This reading yields a very doubtful sense and offends against the laws of the *cursus*. W. Meyer emends to *punila*, referring to the previous destruction of Florence by Totila. It is very difficult to distinguish between *t* and *c* in fourteenth-century MSS., but Mercati, who has examined the Vatican MS. which is the sole authority for this letter, is of opinion

that it really gives *t* not *c*. Meyer's correction is, of course, absolutely convincing.

With the dawn of the Renaissance the knowledge of quantity revived, and the *cursus* was abandoned as barbarous. Thus Coluccio Salutati says to a correspondent who had written to him a letter in which it was avoided :—

Cum omnia michi placeant, super omnia michi gratum est quod more fratrum ille sermo rhythmica lubricatione non ludit. non est ibi syllabarum aequalitas quae sine dinumeratione fieri non solet, non sunt ibi clausulae quae similiter desinant aut cadant. Quod a Cicerone nostro non aliter reprehenditur quam puerile quiddam quod minime deceat in rebus seriis vel ab hominibus qui graves sint adhiberi. Benedictus deus quod sermonem unum vidimus hoc fermento non contaminatum et qui legi possit sine concentu et effeminata consonantiae cantilena.

Coluccio and the other Humanists failed to observe that the accentual system was based upon one of quantity, and the art of *numerosa compositio* was lost, only to be recovered gradually during the last few years.

The development of the Latin *cursus* cannot be fully understood without some consideration of a similar phenomenon which appears in late Greek prose. Here also in the fourth century A.D. accent becomes the dominant factor, and the rhythm depends upon the interval between the accents. This discovery is due to the acumen of W. Meyer, who shows that from this time onward until the fall of the Byzantine Empire it became the fashion in prose for at least two unaccented syllables to come before the last accent in the *κῶλον* or period.

This explains the remark of Psellus (1018–1078), who states that the rhythm of prose depends upon the interval between the accents (ἔστι διαλέκτου μέλος ποῖόν τι διάστημα ἐν διαφόροις συλλαβαῖς βαρυνόμενον ἢ ὀξύτονούμενον). The typical clausulae are ἅπας σοφός, σοφίαν τιμᾷ, ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, διαλέγονται ἄνθρωποι. In the case of a long word like φιλοτιμούμενος, there is a minor accent on the third syllable before the last accent. The first two Forms, viz. ἅπας σοφός, σοφίαν τιμᾷ, have no analogies in Latin, since in it the last syllable is not accented: the second, viz. ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, is identical with the *cursus planus* (*génus humánum*), and the third, viz. διαλέγονται ἄνθρωποι, with the *tardus* (*bóna remédia*). This last Form, the double dactyl, corresponding to the old double cretic, e.g. φαῖδρότησι λάμπουσιν, became very frequent. Meyer quotes a sermon written in 634 A.D., in which all the clausulae belong to this Form, so it must

have been considered *valde motivus ad pietatem*. The Byzantine and the Latin *cursus* therefore exemplify the same principle, viz. a 'binary movement', in which there are at least two unaccented syllables between the last two accents. In the *cursus planus* and *tardus* there are two syllables unaccented, e.g. *génus humánum*, *bóna remédia*, in the *velox*, e.g. *fáciunt meritórum* there are four. When the first unaccented syllable ends the last word but one, there may be an interval of three unaccented syllables, e.g. *víncla reseráre*, corresponding to the three short syllables in the metrical Form *ēssē vīdēātūr* (1²). When such a word as *reserare* does not occupy this place, but comes after a proparoxytone, e.g. *vínculum*, it is treated as the successor of the ditrochaeus, e.g. *vínculum rēseráre*, its first syllable receiving a minor accent.

The two articles of Meyer from which I take these observations are most profound and illuminating. He was the first to show the connexion between the Greek and Latin *cursus* and the common principle on which both were based, to state that metrical prose is founded upon the cretic, and to demonstrate the existence of a *cursus mixtus* in writers like Ammianus and Vegetius.

The statement hitherto accepted is that this *cursus mixtus* first appears in the fourth century A.D., e.g. in the writings of St. Augustine. I have recently arrived at the conclusion that it came into existence much earlier, and was in fact characteristic of vulgar or colloquial Latin, as opposed to the *sermo urbanus*.

While I was writing this paper, it occurred to me to glance at some of those authors whose prose is confessedly not metrical, or only partially so. I began with Petronius, thinking that it would be interesting to see how far the *bas-monde* conformed to metrical rules. In this inquiry I had been preceded by M. Émile Thomas, who found that, although a number of the clausulae were metrical, others were not, and arrived at the conclusion that the textual criticism of the author was not likely to be advanced by such a method of study. I looked first at §§ 70–71 and found that, though several clausulae were correct from the metrical point of view, others were recalcitrant, e.g.

fămīlia ōccūpāvērāt, sūpēr mē pōsītūm cōcūm, cōntētūs fūit
rēcūmbērē, cōntētīōnē Trīmālchīō, tēstāmētō mēō mănūmittō, mēam
hērēdēm făcīō.

Others, though defensible, were harsh, e.g. *Circēnsībūs prīmām
pālmām, vicēnsīmam ēt lēctūm strātūm*.

It then occurred to me to look at the accents. The result was

surprising, since, where the quantities are wrong, the accents are correctly placed. In order to show this, I add the passage with the accents marked, and insert in brackets the Forms to which the clausulae belong:—

Paene de léc̄tis deiéc̄ti súmus (3), adeo totum triclinium fam̄l̄ia occupáverat (4). Certe ego notavi super me p̄s̄itum cócum (1), qui de porco ánserem fécerat (2), muria condimentísque feténtem (1). Nec contentus fúit recúmbere (2), sed continuo Ephesum tragoedum cóepit imitári (1²) et subinde dominum suum sponsiône provocáre (1²) ‘si prasinus proximis circénsibus prímam pálmam’ (3). Diffusus hac contentiône Trimálchio (2), ‘amici’, inquit, ‘et servi homines sunt et aequae unum láctem bibérunt (1), etiam si illos malus fátus opprēssit (1). Tamen me salvo cito aquam libērām gūstābūnt (S 2). Ad summam omnes eos in testamento méo manumíttō (1²). Philargyro etiam fundum lego et cōtubernálem súam (3). Carioni quoque insulam et vicésimam et léc̄tum strátum’ (3 *tr.*).

The only clausula which does not suit the accentual method is *liberam gustabunt*, which, however, gives the metrical Form S 2 (i. e. a spondee takes the place of the trochee in the cadence). As hiatus seems normal in Petronius, I take *-césimam et* to correspond to the metrical Form — ∪ ∪ —, i. e. a choriambic base (*tr.*) before a double trochee.

I add another passage, § 103:—

Non est diláta fallácia (2) sed ad látus navígii (2) fúrtim procéssimus (2), capitaque cūm superc̄l̄iis (2) denudanda tonsóri praebúimus (2). Implevit Eumolpus frontes utriusque ingéntibus lítteris (2) et notum fugitivórum epigrámma (1²) per totam faciem liberáli mánu dúxit (iii *tr.*). Unus fórte ex vectóribus (ii *tr.*) qui acclinatus láteri návis (1) exonerabat stomachum náusea grávem (1) notavit sibi ad lúnám tonsórem (1) intempestivo inhaeréntem minstério (2), èxecratúsque ómen (3) quod imitaretur naufragorum últimum vótum (1) in cubile reiéc̄tust (1). Nos dissimulata nauseántis devòtiône (3) ad ordinem tristítiae rédimus (2), silentiόque compósiti (2) réliquas nóctis hóras (3) male soporáti consúmpsimus (2).

The clausula *liberáli mánu dúxit* seems to correspond to Zielinski's Form iii *tr.*, in which an epitriton (— ∪ —) replaces a molossus in the basis. So also *fórte ex vectóribus* corresponds to ii *tr.*, in which the same change takes place. I have printed *reiéc̄tust* (*reictus est* MS.), since this seems to have been the popular pronúciation (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 167). I also give the vulgar form *minsterio* (*ministerium* MS.), since this seems demanded by the rhythm. The

evidence for *minsterium* in vulgar Latin is given by Lindsay (pp. 173 and 201). It is interesting to notice that in § 92 *in conspēctu minstrāntem* (1), and § 117 *detrectātor minstērii* (2) the rhythm seems to require the syncopated form.

I would mention in this connexion that the vulgar pronunciation *mulière*, for which Lindsay (p. 164) quotes the line of Dracontius (c. 4-90):—

Insuper et Salamon eadem muliēre creatus

seems to occur in § 9 *muliēre pugnāsti* (1).

Caper quoted by Lindsay (p. 163) mentions that words ending in *-c*, like *adhuc*, *hac*, *illuc*, formed from the enclitic *-ce*, which have dropped their last syllable, are an exception to the general rule that the last syllable is not accented. So we find § 57 *oppōnerent hāc illāc* (2), and § 63 *adhūc capillātus ēssēm* (3). I previously mentioned that hiatus was a characteristic of vulgar Latin. That this is the rule in Petronius appears from e.g. § 44 *denārios mīlle aūreos* (3), § 66 *excellēte Hispānum* (1).

I do not wish to imply that all passages yield results quite so satisfactory as the two which I have quoted. The inquiry is as yet in its infancy, and I am content to indicate the principles involved. I would only say that wherever the eye rests one sees forms like *cāve contēmnas* (1), *vāldē sucōssi sunt* (2), *honestiōres cenābant* (1), *hōmo negōtians* (2), *līteras dīdici* (2), *voca cōcum in mēdio* (2), *Trimalchiōnis topānta est* (2), *stramentīcium vāvatōnem* (3), *tengōmenas fāciāmus* (3), *maiīesto et dignitōsso* (3), *tetīgerat mālā mānus* (3), *cantabūndus et stēlas nūmero* (4), which carry their explanation written on them. Since everywhere the tendency is from multiplicity to uniformity, it will probably be found that the *cursus* of Petronius is richer in forms than that of writers in the fifth century.

While the colloquial parts of the author are based on accent, the more elevated passages are metrical. I quote the following, § 2, using Zielinski's symbols:—

Grandis et ut ita dicām pūdīca ōrātīō (ii *tr.*) non est maculōsā nēc tūrgīdā (2), sed naturali pulchritūdīne ēxsūrgīt (1). Nuper ventosa istaec et enormis loquacitas Athenas ēx Āsiā cōmmīgrāvit (3 *tr.*) animosque iuvenum ad māgnā sūrgētēs (1) veluti pestilenti quodam sidēre āfflāvit (1), semelque cōrrūptā rēgūlā (ii) stētīt ēt ōbmūtūt (2¹). Ad summam, quis pōstēā Thūcŷdīdīs (ii *tr.*), quis Hyperidis ād fāmām prōcēssīt (S 2)? Ac ne carmen quidem sani colōris ēnītūt (1³), sed omnia quasi eodēm cībō pāstā (1) non potuerunt usque ad senectūtēm

cānēscērē (ii). Pictura quoque non alium ēxītūm fēcīt (1), postquam Aegȳptiōrum aūdāciā (ii *tr.*) tam magnae artis compendiāriām īnvenīt (1).

I next looked at Vitruvius, whose Latinity is known to have affinities with the *sermo vulgaris*. Some of his linguistic peculiarities are so striking that Ussing attempts to show that the work *de Architectura* cannot have been written during the Augustan period, but during the decadence of the Latin language and its transition to the Romance tongues. I took at random a passage, ii. 9. 10-11, *alnus . . . habent palos*. As this appears to be rhythmical, I mark the accents, and add in brackets Zielinski's symbols for corresponding metrical Forms:—

Alnus autem quae proxima fluminibus rīpis procreātur (1²) et minime materies utilis videtur habet in se egrégias ratiōnes (3). Est enim aere et igni plúrimo tēperāta (3), non multum terrēno umóre paúlo (3). Itaque in palústribus lócīs (1) infra fundamenta aedificiorum palatiōnibus crēbre fīxa (3), recipiens in se quod minus habet in corpore liquóris (? 1²) permanet immortalis ad aetērnitātem (3 *tr.*) et sustinet immania pondera structurae et sine vítiis consérvat (?). Ita quae non potest extra terram paulum témpus durāre (1), ea in umore obruta permanet ád diutūrnitātem (3). Est autem maxime id considerāre Ravénnae (1), quod ibi omnia opera et pública èt privāta (3) sub fundamentis eius géneris hábent pálos (3).

The passage is certainly not metrical, and seems to exhibit the same phenomena as those visible in the prose of Petronius with the exception of the clausula *vítiis consérvat*, which does not fall in with any system unless we consider it a rhythmical equivalent to Zielinski's *P 1* (- 0 0 - - 0). I should not, however, be inclined to accept Ussing's theory concerning the date of the treatise, but should prefer to suppose that it is a specimen of accentual prose as written by plain folk in the Augustan era.

Another author whom I examined was Frontinus. The works attributed to him are a treatise *De aquis urbis Romae*, written in 97 A.D., and a book on military stratagems (*Strategematicon*), of which the fourth book is possibly a composition of a later date. I give the following citation from the first book of the *Strategematicon*, ch. 6:—

Ventidius Parthico bello adversus Pácorum régem (1) non ignarus Pharnacem quendam natiōe Cyrrhéstem (1) ex his qui sócii videbántur (3) omnia quae apud ipsos ageréntur (1²) nuntiare Parthis perfídiam bárbari (2) ad utilitates súas convértit (1). Nam quae maxime fieri cūpiébat (3), ea vereri se ne accíderent quāe timébat (3), ea ut evenirent optāre simulábat (1²). Sollicitus itaque ne Parthi ante

transírent Euphrátem (1) quam sibi supervenírent legiónes (1^a) quas in Cappadocia trans Taúrum habébat (1), studiose cum proditore egit, uti sollemni perfidia Párthis suadéret (1) per Zeugma traícerent exércitum (ii *tr.*), qua et brevíssimum íter est (2) et demisso alveo Euphrátem decúrrit (1): namque si illa venírent (1) adseverabat se opportunitate collium usurum ad eludéndos sagittários (ii²), omnia aútem veréri (1) si se infra <per> patentis campos pròiecíssent (*ditrochaeus*).

Much of the treatise *de aquis* is so technical that it can hardly be used for this purpose. I quote, however, the following from ch. lxxxviii:—

Sentit hanc curam imperatoris piissimi Nervae príncipis súi (1), regina et domina orbis in dñes (1), quae terrarum déa consístit, (1) cui par nihil et nñhil secúndum (1), et magis sentiet salubritas eiúsdem aetérnae úrbis (3), aucto castellorum, operum, munerum et lácuum número (2) nec minus ad privatos commodum ex incremento beneficiorum efus diffúnditur (2).

Armed with these clues I finally looked at Cicero's Letters to Atticus, which are considered by all critics not to exhibit those metrical clausulae which characterize his other works. I selected a letter which has always seemed to me the most private in the collection, viz. iv. 5, in which he unbosoms himself concerning the painful incident of the *παλινωδία* after the Conference of Luca. My surprise was great when I found that the clausulae appear to be accentual.

Sed valeant recta, vera, honésta consília (2), non est credibile quae sit perfidia in ístis princípibus (2), ut volunt esse et ut essent si quicquam habérent fidéi (1). Senseram, noram inductus, relictus, proiétus ab iis (1), tamen hóc eram ánimo (2) ut cum iis in re pública cònsentírem (3): iidem érant qui fúerant (2). Vix aliquando te auctóre resípui (2). Dices ea tenus te suasísse ut fácerem (2), non étiam ut scríberem (2 *tr.*). Ego me hercule necessitatem mihi volui imponere huius nóvae coniúntiónis (3), ne qua mihi líceret lábi ad fillos (1) qui etiam tum cum misereri mei debent non désinunt invidére (3). Sed tamen modici fúimus *ὑποθέσει* (3) ut scripsi: erimus uberiores si et ille libénter accípiet (2) et ii subringentur qui villam me moleste férunt habére (1) quae Cátuli fúerat (2), a Vettio me emísse non cógitant (2): qui domum negant oportuisse me aedificáre (1), vendere afunt opòrtuisse (3). Sed quid ad hoc, si quibus sententiis dixi quod et ipsi probárent (1), laetati sunt tamen me contra Pompei voluntátem dixísse (1). Finis. Sed quoniam qui nihil possunt ii me nólunt amáre (1), demus operam ut ab iis qui pòssunt diligámur (? 3).

Dices 'véllem iam pridem' (1). Scio te voluisse et me asinum germánum fuisse (1).

Here the only clausula which gives any difficulty is *qui possunt diligamur*, which, however, is metrically correct (— — — — — i. e. iii) or the ditrochaeus may be regarded as sufficient in itself. In *hóc eram ánimo* I allow hiatus as in vulgar Latin, and regard *eram* as unaccented (cf. Lindsay, p. 167, who says that *erat*, *erit*, &c., were unaccented or accented according to the caprice of the writer).

Other letters at which I looked appeared to confirm this analysis. Of course Cicero continually drops into his metrical style. Thus in 1. 16, a very private letter, of which he says in § 8, *in ea praesértim epístula quam nolo áliis légi* he goes on to refer to a lost speech and uses metrical clausulae.

I add the following passage from a letter of Caelius, Fam. viii. 6. 3:—

Pompeius dicitur valde pro Áppio làboráre (3), ut etiam putent alterum utrum de filiis ád te missúrum (1). Hic nos omnes absólvimus (2) et hercules consaepta omnia foéda et inhonésta sunt (4). Consules autem habemus súmma diligéntia (2²): adhuc s. c. nisi de feriis Latinis nullum fácere pòtuerunt (3) Curioni nostro tribunátus conglaíat (2). Sed dici non potest quo modo hic ómnia iáceant (2). Nisi ego cum tabernariis et aquáriis pugnárem (?) veternus civitatem òccupásset (3 *tr.*). Si Parthi vos níhil calfsiciunt (2), nos *non* nihil frígore frigéscimus (2 *tr.*). Tamen quoquómodo pótuit (2) sine Parthis Bibulus in Amano nescio quid cohorticulárum amísit (1).

The only clausula here which calls for comment is *aquáriis pugnárem*. This may be regarded as equivalent to Zielinski's *P* 1 $\underline{\text{—}} \cup \cup - \underline{\text{—}} \cup$, a rare Form in which a dactyl appears in the base in place of the initial trochee. For the accent of *quoquómodo* cf. Lindsay, p. 169.

It would be a long task to examine the prose of Cicero's correspondents and determine whether they write metrically, rhythmically, or in neither style. The letters of Plancus are of course metrical like the elaborate compositions of Cicero himself when writing to Lentulus. A short letter of Pompeius at which I have glanced, Att. viii. 11. A, appears to be rhythmical from such clausulae as *íter habére, proficísci Corfinio, cohórtibus súbsequi, Lucériam vénias, tutíssimo púto fbre*. I find neither metre nor rhythm in the hurried dispatch of Caesar to Oppius, Att. ix. 13. A, or in the elaborate letter of Antonius, Att. xiv. 13. A.

I would conclude this investigation by a few remarks upon the nature of the Latin accent and its relation to the Greek. The Greek

accent was one of pitch, at any rate in classical times, so that there was no conflict between accent and quantity. At a later date it became one of stress. Thus accent is taken into account in the verse of Babrius, and in the fourth century A. D., as Meyer has pointed out, it became the regulating principle in prose. In the case of Latin the facts are wholly different. It is clear from a variety of considerations, such as the syncope of unaccented vowels, vowel changes, the shortening of the vowel in unaccented final syllables, and the accentuation of the Romance languages, that the original accent was one of stress. This is also evident in the indigenous Saturnian metre, which was essentially rhythmical. To quote Lindsay's description of this (p. 128), the line consisted of two halves, the first of which contained seven syllables with three accents, one always on the first syllable of the line, while the second half contained six syllables with two accents. He distinguishes between two types, viz.

(a) ˘ ~ ˘ ~ ~ ˘ ~ || ˘ ~ ~ ~ ˘ ~
e. g. *dábunt málum Metélli Naévio poétae*

(b) ˘ ~ ˘ ~ ˘ ~ ~ || ~ ˘ ~ ~ ˘ ~
e. g. *prím(a) incédit Céreris Prosérpina píer.*

When the Romans adopted the Greek quantitative metres, the influence of the accent in shortening unaccented syllables is seen in such lines of Ennius as

Virgínēs nam sibi quisque domi Romanus habet sas

and in various features of Plautine versification.

The Latin language being essentially rhythmical, was ill suited to the quantitative system. Thus Skutsch says 'Die Natur der lateinischen Sprache ist stark undactylisch', and has shown the various devices by which the poets adapted it to the Hexameter (*Zeitschrift f. d. Gymn.-W.*, 1909, p. 68). There would appear to have been a perpetual struggle to lessen the conflict between accent and ictus with the result that certain endings to the Hexameter and Pentameter become conventional. There remained, however, constant collision, as may be seen from the first line of the Aeneid.

Arma virumque cáno Tróiae qui primus ab oris.

So the disyllable at the end of the Pentameter, though possibly smoother than some other endings, causes a perpetual conflict. Mr. Robert Bridges considers that the music of Latin verse is assisted by these discords, since, if accent and ictus always agree, the effect becomes monotonous. This may be true, but I would point out that

there is no such conflict in Greek verse, and no one would say that this was less musical than Latin. Certainly this was not the view of the Romans themselves.

While the internal evidence shows clearly that the Latin accent was originally one of stress, it is equally indisputable that the Latin grammarians use terms which are inconsistent with the explanation. Cicero, Varro, and Quintilian are unanimous in speaking of pitch (*vocis altitudo*, *vocis fastigium*, &c.), and use precisely similar terms when describing the accent in both languages. It is usual to suppose that they borrowed Greek terms without noticing the essential difference between the two systems, but this cannot be considered a satisfactory explanation.

Prof. F. F. Abbott of Princeton has recently made a suggestion which appears to me most illuminating (*Classical Philology*, 1907, pp. 444-60). This is that, when the Romans took over the Greek metres, the Greek pitch-accent was also adopted in the *sermo urbanus*, while the native stress-accent survived in the *sermo vulgaris*. This would explain the language used by the grammarians, who wrote only for educated people and did not concern themselves with the talk of the vulgar, and the fact that syncope and vowel reduction were chiefly found in the *sermo plebeius*. In reply to the objection that orators who did not use the popular accent would not be understood by the masses, we may point out that the same objection would apply to the employment of the *sermo urbanus* itself, which was essentially artificial in vocabulary and construction. Abbott thinks that when Cicero tells us how the whole theatre would break out into an outcry if any false quantity was made by an actor, he is referring to the Senators and Knights by whom he was surrounded, who would be followed by the rest of the audience. It is interesting to notice that a similar explanation occurred to Leonardo Aretino in the fifteenth century.¹

It may also be doubted if the difference between pitch and stress was in practice so great as we might at first suppose. Thus the accent in French resembles a pitch-accent, while our own is emphatically one of stress. Would the difference between the two methods of pronunciation have been greater than that of two Englishmen, one of whom had been educated in France and had a French accent?

On the other hand, this theory, if stated without qualification, runs contrary to certain facts. If there was no conflict between quantity and accent, how are we to explain the attempt visible in poetry to reduce this to the smallest possible proportions by the choice of certain

¹ Epp. vi. 8.

recognized endings in dactylic verse? So also in prose Zielinski has shown that the ictus of the clausula generally agrees with the accent, and that where there is a conflict the Form, or the type of the Form, which produces this conflict is never common and steadily becomes rarer. I would, therefore, propose a very slight modification of Abbott's view, viz. that in the *sermo urbanus* the accent *tended* to become one of pitch, but that the process was not complete. If so, the conflict would be slight, while it was sufficiently felt to be noticed and on the whole avoided.

Abbott's paper contains suggestions which appear to me very interesting in view of the results at which I arrived after studying the accentual system of Petronius and Cicero's Letters to Atticus. Thus he says (p. 457), 'When we bear in mind the great differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and phraseology which are to be found between the Latin of the freedmen in Petronius and the Latin of Cicero or Quintilian, and when we recall the statements which the Romans themselves made concerning the vulgar tongue, we can readily believe that vulgar Latin and formal Latin were distinguished from each other in the character of their accents.' In a note on p. 458 he says, 'It would be quite possible for Cicero to modify his accent slightly in addressing the people, just as he makes his vocabulary and his phrases suit the topics which he discusses and the people whom he addresses in his letters.' This is practically what my analysis of such a spontaneous and unstudied document as Att. iv. 5 would show him to have done when writing in his most colloquial style to his most intimate friend.

I end this paper with a suggestion concerning the meaning of a passage in Cic. ad Att. xii. 6. 2. Tyrannio is said to have been the first person who introduced the theory of accentuation to the Romans (Lindsay, p. 151). He sent a book on the subject to Atticus. Cicero had arranged to read it with Atticus, but Atticus, to Cicero's annoyance, read it first by himself. Cicero, after expressing his disappointment, says:—

Te istam tam tenuem θεωρίαν tam valde admiratum esse gaudeo. Etsi tua quidem sunt eius modi omnia. Scire enim vis, quo uno modo animus alitur. Sed, quaeso, quid ex ista acuta et gravi refertur ad τέλος?

In the Dublin edition *etsi* . . . τέλος is translated, 'The whole bent of your mind is for subtle speculations. You desire knowledge, which is the only *pabulum* of the mind. But, I ask you, what in that *acute and grave* treatise has any bearing on the *ultimate principle* of conduct?'

The editors say that there is a play upon the 'acute and grave' accents which were the subject of the treatise, and Cicero's work *De Finibus*, on the τέλος or *summum bonum*. This seems to be the recognized view. Professor Reid, however, dissents in a note added by the editors, and says, 'I feel sure that there is no allusion to the *de Finibus*.' He explains τέλος as referring to the end of Atticus, viz. the acquisition of knowledge. It occurs to me that τέλος may be used for the end of the sentence, i.e. Cicero asks, 'What is the relation of the accent to the clausula?'

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